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THOUGHTS ON THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

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AMONG the problems which the people and government of the United States have to deal with, there are three which observers from the old world are apt to think grave beyond all others. These three are the attitude and demands of the labor party, the power which the suffrage vests in recent immigrants from the least civilized parts of Europe, and the position of the colored population at the South. And of these three, the last, if not the most urgent, is the most serious, the one whose roots lie deepest, and which is most likely to stand a source of anxiety, perhaps of danger, for generations to come. Compared with it, those tariff questions and currency questions and railway questions with which politicians busy themselves sink almost to insignificance. It is a large and complicated problem: nor can I, in the few pages which the editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW asks me to devote to it, attempt more than to sketch briefly some of the salient features which it presents to a European who revisits the South after an interval of seven years, and who, while knowing far less of the details than well-informed Americans know, has the advantage of being free from sectional feeling or political prepossession.

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Let us see what are the broad facts of the position as it stands to-day at the South.

The total population of the sixteen States in which slavery existed up to the Civil War, together with Kansas and the District of Columbia, is now 23,875,259, of whom 16,868,305 are white and 6,996,166 colored. In the Gulf States, together with Arkansas and South Carolina, there are 4,519,005 colored, against 6,139,295 white. In three States, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the colored people are in a majority over the whites (2,003,116, against 1,552,869), while in the more northerly and hilly States, such as West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, the whites greatly outnumber the colored. A comparison of the last few censuses shows that the colored population is gradually shifting from the higher and colder regions to the hot semi-tropical lands that border on the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico. It is an even more important fact that the rate of increase of the colored population appears by the census of 1890 to be much lower than that of the whites. In the above sixteen States the white rate of increase from 1880 to 1890 was 24.67 per cent.; colored rate, only 13.90 per cent. In the above eight States the white rate was 29.63 per cent.; colored, 19.10 per cent. In South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana the white rate was 17.24 per cent.; colored, 15.31 per cent. Although, therefore, the colored race grows, it grows only in regions to which it is climatically adapted, and it grows, except in a few places, much more slowly than the white race. Time is on the side of the latter.

Both in the middle Southern and in the semi-tropical States, and alike in the cities and in the rural districts, the colored people form the lower stratum of the population. In the lower and hotter parts of the Gulf States and of South Carolina they do all the field work; in the cities and in the mining and manufacturing regions their labor is almost entirely (though less so from year to year) unskilled labor. Very different descriptions of their condition, especially in the agricultural districts, are given by different observers. But two facts stand out. The one is that few, in proportion to the total number, have acquired wealth by commerce, or have risen to any sort of eminence in the professions. The other is that, unlike the negroes of the West India islands, they are generally industrious, working pretty

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steadily, whether as hired laborers or as the tenants of small farms, and that they are, though no doubt by slow degrees, learning thrift and self-control.

When it is remembered that the grandparents or great-grandparents of many of them were African savages, — for the importation of slaves was not forbidden till 1808, — we must not be surprised that large masses, especially in Louisiana and Mississippi, remain at a low level of intelligence and morality, with rudimentary notions of comfort and still dominated by gross superstitions. Still less is it strange, considering that only twenty-five years have passed since they were slaves,—slaves to whom it was an offence to teach reading, — that the great majority should lack even the elements of education. So far from finding these facts discouraging, he who travels through the South now is surprised at the progress that has been made since 1865. History and science tell us that social and moral advancement is an extremely slow process, because it issues from a change in the physical as well as mental nature of a race. Compare the negroes even of the semi-tropical States with the negroes of the coast of Guinea or the lower Congo or of Hayti, and the advancement is undeniable. Something may be ascribed to the difference of climate, which makes labor both easier and more necessary; but much is also due to the influence of the white people and, indirectly, to the spirit and tendency of American institutions. The best proof of progress is the fact that the negroes have begun to help themselves; that they are supporting their own churches and schools more liberally, organizing charitable societies for their own benefit, showing an increased desire for education, and profiting by it. They have proved the truth of the converse proposition to Homer's famous saying that a man loses half his worth when he is enslaved. Freedom has done for them in twenty-six years more than any one who knew how slavery left them had a right to expect.

One thing, however, freedom has not done. It has not brought the colored people any nearer to the whites. Social intercourse is strictly confined to business, unless where the negro is a domestic servant; and is far less frequent and easy than in the days of slavery. Then in the home establishment and on the best plantations—plantations like that Dabney estate in Mississippi of which so pleasing a picture was lately given in Mrs. Smedes's

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book—even the field hands were on familiar terms with the master and mistress, while the children of both colors played together. This has entirely ceased. In some States the negro is allowed to enter the same street-cars or railroad cars; in some he is less rigidly than in others kept apart in places of public resort. But everywhere in the South he is confined to schools and colleges for his own race; he worships in his own churches; he mingles in none of the amusements, he is admitted to none of the social or industrial organizations, which white people, even the humblest of them, enjoy or form. Most significant of all, his blood is never mixed with theirs. The intermarriage of the races is forbidden by law in all or nearly all* the Southern States, as well as in some Western States; but legal prohibition was scarcely needed, for public sentiment is universally opposed to such unions. Those illicit relations of white men with colored women which were not uncommon in the days of slavery have almost wholly disappeared; and it is now a rare thing for a child to be born with parents of different colors. No intermediate race grows up to link the other two together; for, though there are mulattoes and quadroons, born under the old state of things, they are all reckoned with the negroes.

This social separation does not spring from nor imply any enmity between the races. The attitude of the richer and more educated whites in the South is distinctly friendly to the negro. They like him for his many amiable qualities; and they remember that, when during the Civil War all the men fit to bear arms had gone off to fight the North, the white women and children, left unprotected behind upon the plantations, dwelt in perfect safety, with not even an insulting word to fear. The lower class of whites have somewhat less kindly feelings. The negroes used formerly to despise those whom they called "poor white trash"; and the poor whites, in their turn, were all the more proud of their skin because they had little else to be proud of. In the cities and mining districts the white laborer feels some jealousy of the negro, and is anxious to assert his superiority. Yet, even in these humbler ranks, it would be incorrect to speak of hostility. There is a strong feeling of separation, but there is also a desire to live peaceably and amicably together. Negroes are sometimes

* Mr. F. J. Stimson's valuable book, "American Statute Law," mentions such prohibitions in every Southern State except Louisiana. Whether such an enactment now exists there I am unable at this writing to ascertain.

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lynched or shot by individual whites whom they have offended. But in the wilder parts of the South and West whites also are lynched, and though less frequently than negroes, yet sometimes with circumstances of barbarity.* Allowing for the lawlessness which prevails in the more backward districts, for the tendency to cruelty which the sense of power creates, and for the habits formed in Ku Klux days, the negro fares better than might have been expected. But race prejudice is very strong—far stronger than in the British or Spanish West Indies. It shows no signs of declining; it is unaffected by the merits of the individual. A negro who gains wealth or wins for himself a good position in the profession of medicine or law or teaching is no nearer to social equality than a negro blacking boots in the street; and this remark applies to the Northern as well as to the Southern States.

As regards civil rights, those rights of the citizen which the law gives and protects, equality is complete in the public as well as in the private sphere. The negro has not only the suffrage on the same terms as the white, but he has the same eligibility to every kind of office, State office equally with federal office. But although this equality has existed on paper for more than twenty years, the benefits which it has actually secured to the colored people have been so small that one may doubt whether they have substantially gained by those famous amendments of the federal constitution which secure these active civil rights. Since the carpet-bag governments fell, during the years between 1870 and 1876, few indeed have been the negroes who have been elected or appointed to any but the very humblest offices. Although they form in some States one-third, in others one-half or more, of the population, they are seldom elected to a State legislature, or to any post of consequence in State or city government.

It is the same with federal offices. Even the party which gave the negro civil rights, and has ever since advocated his cause, scarcely recognizes him for appointments. This may be explained or excused on the ground that so few negroes have the education required for the better sort of offices, though education is little enough regarded where the services of a white partisan have to be rewarded. It is the same at the North as at the South, although the much smaller proportion of negroes to the popula-

* There was a case some few months ago in which a white woman was flogged to death in the mountains of Tennessee.

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tion makes the contrast between what is legally permitted and what is actually enjoyed less striking. The Northern people seem just as unwilling as the Southern people to have a negro set in a post of authority over them. In this exclusion, however, there is no legal wrong to any one. Being everywhere more influential, and in all States but three more numerous, the whites are entitled to prefer candidates of their own color.

It is otherwise as regards the exercise of the electoral suffrage. In the more northerly of the old slave States, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, the negroes are everywhere in such a minority as to cause no apprehension; and in these States, therefore, they can cast their ballot freely, like other citizens, and are said to use even more freely than other citizens the privilege of getting something for it. But in most of the Southern States, though less so in Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas than in the States which have the largest colored population, their vote is very largely suppressed. In the days between 1870 and 1880 this suppression was mostly effected by violence, the negroes being driven or frightened from the polls or maltreated at the polls in one of the ways to which the name "bulldozing" has been applied. Latterly gentler methods have prevailed. Sometimes fraud is used in taking or counting the ballots. Sometimes ingenious and technically legitimate devices, like the Eight-Box Law of South Carolina, are resorted to. Sometimes the well-grounded belief of the colored voters that in some way or other their votes will not be allowed to take effect is enough to prevent them from coming to vote at all.

There are no doubt districts, in some even of the Gulf States many districts, where neither force nor fraud is employed. There are minor elections in which it is not thought needful to interfere with the natural course of things. But, speaking generally, the fact is too well known to need either proof or illustration that over large areas and in really important elections, such as those for Congressmen and for Presidential electors, the colored people are not suffered to use the rights which the amendments to the constitution were intended to secure. One of the ablest and most influential men in the South, now unhappily lost to it, said to me in 1881: "Do not mistake our position. We know the negro and we like him. We are treating him well, and

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we mean to treat him well. But we vote him, and we must vote him." These words fairly describe the facts, and fairly express the mind of the Southern people. They are as true now as they were ten years ago.

The problems which this statement of the position suggests may be reduced to three :—

First—How is the negro to be elevated? The English who settled North America have had two lower races to deal with. One they have extruded from his ancient seats. The other they brought from his native continent to serve them. The African has now so multiplied that their interests no less than their duty oblige them to labor for his well-being. If he remains ignorant, uncultured, swayed by passion rather than by reason, he cannot but be a source of danger, as well as a reproach to Christian civilization.

Secondly—How is the social antagonism between the races to be lessened? That it is not prescribed by a law of nature appears from the fact that there are places where it is, if not wholly absent, yet far less strong and far less palpably obtrusive than in the United States. Of social equality I do not speak; but the sharp and harsh social separation which now exists is fraught with trouble, and may become dangerous when the weaker race has grown in intelligence and courage.

Thirdly—How are the anomalies and contradictions of the political position to be overcome? The negroes have got the suffrage, which in America is the source of all power. But the vast majority of them are confessedly unfit for the suffrage. It has been solemnly guaranteed to them by the constitution; and they are not suffered to enjoy it. Such a situation has more than one element of evil in it. It is a standing breach of the constitution, a standing violation of that respect for law which is the very life-blood of democratic institutions. It is calculated to provoke resentment and disaffection on the part of more than seven millions of people. It suspends the natural growth and play of political parties at the South, forcing the negroes to stick to one national party, irrespective of the (often far more important) local issues which State politics present; forcing the Southern whites also to hold together as one party upon one issue, instead of dividing and regrouping themselves according to the questions which the changing conditions of their country bring from time to time to the front. Thus it perpetuates sectional-

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ism, a grave mischief in national politics, even though the danger of another secession may have wholly passed away. And last of all, perhaps worst of all, it accustoms the Southern politicians, among whom elections were at one time purer than in the Northern cities, to a course of fraudulent evasions or perversions of the law and of good faith which cannot but distort their own political conscience and undermine that citadel of free government, faith in the elective system and obedience to the decision of the majority. If voting ceases to be honestly managed, people will cease to respect the results of a vote, and the community is thrown back to the old régime of brute force.

To describe thus in these strong terms the shadow which the political side of the negro problem throws over the South is not, I think, to deepen that shadow unduly. Many dispassionate observers use words even stronger. "It may have been a blunder to confer the suffrage on the negroes," such an observer will answer when the history of the matter has been pressed on him. "Probably it was a mistake. But to deprive the negro of it by force or fraud when the constitution has given it to him is an offence which must, if it continues, permanently injure not only the political character of the South, but the constitution and government of the republic itself." That there is some truth in this view sensible Southerners admit. But, as they remark, it does not follow that the proper remedy is to proceed at once to secure for the negro the actual enjoyment of his chartered rights. There are features in the case which must be regarded before adopting so apparently simple a solution of the problem.

One of these features is the unfitness of nine-tenths of the colored people for the privilege which has been thrust upon them. The fifteenth amendment was a hasty and desperate remedy for evils which, crying as they were, might probably have been gradually removed in a less rude and drastic way. The favorite democratic dogma that the gift of a right carries with it the capacity to exercise that right has enough truth to tempt enthusiasts to apply it rashly. No application was ever so extreme as the enfranchisement of the five-years' freedmen of the South, a mass of people not merely ignorant, but destitute of the very rudiments of political aptitude. Children of ten would have been fitter for such an experiment. What wonder that they remain unfit now? The peoples of western Europe, peoples nat-

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urally far more gifted, as their primitive literatures prove, have been played upon for some two thousand years by various civilizing influences, and have had many centuries of experience in the arts of government. As we all know, large sections of their populations are to-day scarcely fit for electoral rights. But it is little more than a century (if we strike an average between the earlier and later importations) since the negro of west Africa came in contact with civilized man; only a quarter of a century since he was made a legal person capable of holding even private civil rights.

But the matter is more serious, in the eyes of Southern whites, than this general statement of unfitness conveys. The unfitness of the negro was demonstrated on a colossal scale and with ruinous results in the reconstruction period, when his vote, manipulated by the so-called white carpet-baggers, ruled the States that had seceded, placed unscrupulous adventurers in the highest posts, wasted the public revenues, piled up stupendous fabrics of State debt. The whites cannot forget that dismal period; and their recollection of it makes them vehemently resolute that power shall never again pass into the hands which so misused it. It is not revenge, it is not hatred, it is the instinct of self-preservation, which governs them; an instinct which soon affects Northern men who settle in the South, and which (I strongly suspect) is not without its influence even upon men living in the North who invest their capital in Southern undertakings. This anxiety to prevent the negro from making the force of his vote felt in elections may seem overstrained, and even morbid, to an outside observer who notes the vast superiority of the whites in wealth, intelligence, and the power of organization. But he is forced to admit that both it, and the social separation which keeps the races more widely apart now than they were in the days of slavery, are natural results of the days of carpet-bag rule.

A third feature of the situation is the fact that the great bulk of the negroes have not hitherto valued the suffrage, and do not greatly resent being virtually deprived of it. It must be remembered that there are among the colored people not only different classes, but different races, some of which are greatly below others in intelligence and capacity for progress. The majority to whom I refer, most of them from the Guinea coast, are not only ignorant, but at the same time sluggish and volatile. They

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know too little and care too little about politics to have the same sense of injustice and loss which any mass of white men, even the poorest and most ignorant, would feel in the United States. They were not individually better off when they did enjoy the right of voting and ruled their respective States by means of it. Though ready to support the Republican ticket when roused, especially by their preachers, they have no settled, abiding purpose of asserting themselves. The comparatively small minority of educated and property-owning colored people suffer less in their own persons, because they are less frequently interrupted in going to the polls. There are no doubt those who do complain warmly of the wrong practised on their brethren, and sometimes talk of taking action about it. Yet among them one finds not a few who recognize the hard facts of the case, who see that their race needs moral progress rather than political power, who perceive that they and their brethren might suffer more from any increase of irritation on the part of the whites than they would gain by a forcible assertion of their rights even under the protection of the federal government. There are also many whose aspirations lie entirely in the direction of material progress. They wish to improve their own position, and know that political agitation will do nothing for them. There is, I think, more active indignation among the colored people in the Middle and Northern States at the injustice suffered by their race in the Gulf States than exists in those States themselves; and there is also more resentment at the very scanty share in federal offices which the colored people receive.

This is a fact that makes for peace and good feeling. It may be thought to reduce materially the element of political danger in the situation. But it must be remembered, on the other hand, that education is making way everywhere among the negroes, even among the half-barbarous masses that inhabit the lowlands along the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico. Before long the influence of newspapers may be far greater than it now is. The number of well-educated men of color, men who have had a college course and who will feel more acutely than the ignorant the social ban that rests upon them, increases fast. Education at a certain stage brings risks with it. Says Bishop Atticus G. Haygood, than whom the colored people have no better friend:

"In his educational development the negro is just now at the danger-line,

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—of which he, most of all, is unconscious. So far his education has developed wants faster than his ability to satisfy them. In the most of them the result is discontent; with many, unhappiness; in some, a sort of desperation; in not a few, dishonesty. . . . This state of things grows out of a natural and universal law of humanity; and is peculiar to the American negro because he is now, and by no fault or choice of his, in this crisis of development. The poorest people are not those who have little, but those who want more than they can readily earn. That many half-taught and unwisely-taught negroes go to the bad is not surprising. In these matters the negro's weakness illustrates his brotherhood to his white neighbors. The prisons show enough half-educated white people to prove that merely learning the rudiments does not secure virtue. In all races it is true that with new knowledge new temptations come: strength to resist comes after, if at all. In all this a man of sense finds no argument against the education of the negro, but a demonstration of the need, for him and for the white race, of more and better education."

This class of half-educated colored people, who can read, but have not yet learned to think, and are beginning to be averse to manual labor, increases daily, while the generation which had the deference, and often the affection, of the slave to his master, will soon have passed away. It is, therefore, possible that the problem may within the next twenty or thirty years enter into a phase more threatening than the present.

Even as it stands, however, there is much to disquiet the men of the South who are most directly affected; much to make the men of the North desire the removal of a state of things which interferes prejudicially with the natural course of national politics. Many are the solutions that have been proposed; some too bold and sweeping to come within the range of practical statesmanship; some too obviously slight and partial to deserve discussion. Space permits me to advert to two or three only.

One, less frequently advocated now than formerly, is the mixture of the two races by intermarriage. Of this it is enough to say that, while the negroes do not desire it, the whites detest it, and that not less in the Northern than in the Southern States. Even in commonwealths where mixed marriages are lawful they are extremely rare, and are visited with the severest social reprobation. Nor is this feeling unreasonable. So far as one can conjecture, the white race would lose more by what is called "miscegenation" than the negro would gain. Civilization would be thrown back. Parts of the country in which the white race had become thoroughly mingled with the black would be out of accord with those where the whites had remained distinct.

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Scarcely less impracticable is the plan which seeks to get rid of the negro question by getting rid of the negro—that is to say, by transporting him from America back to his own continent. A large undertaking, indeed, to take seven millions of people, who might have grown to eight or nine before the operation had been completed, uproot them from their homes, and "dump them down," like so much slag from a furnace, in an already populated country, where the appliances of civilization exist in the scantiest measure. The negroes, even those among them who complain of their treatment in the United States, have never shown any wish to leave the territory of the republic. Some of them go West, like the whites, from the older South to Texas or Kansas or southern California. Few or none emigrate either to Africa or to South America, which has been suggested as an alternative place of expatriation. If they were all expelled from the United States, it would be necessary to prevent their return by laws even stricter than those directed against the Chinese, coupled with a severe transport system.

Moreover, the Southern whites, uneasy as they are in States like South Carolina and Mississippi, would not wish to lose this vast body of workers, who cultivate the soil of regions where white labor cannot contend with heat and malaria. There are no doubt many districts formerly tilled by slaves in which white farmers have now begun to establish themselves; and wherever white labor can fairly compete with black, the former is found to be more productive. But there are also extensive hot lowlands into which it would be necessary to bring coolies from India to raise cotton, rice, and sugar, were the negro population withdrawn. Although, therefore, this solution has been recently advocated by some able writers, it seems to be decisively condemned by considerations of humanity and of economics, as well as by the immense practical difficulties which would surround its execution.

The proposal that the whole nation, which gave the suffrage to the colored race by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution, should undertake to protect them in its exercise by the intervention of the national government, deserves a somewhat fuller discussion. It was lately embodied in a bill laid before Congress by an able and rising statesman, one of the foremost men in his party. As everybody knows, the other party

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alleged that the measure was prompted, not by sympathy for the negro, but by a desire to reap the full benefit of his vote at congressional and presidential elections. Those, it was said, who enfranchised the negro in the reconstruction period, having now found that the only result of that enfranchisement has been to make the representation of the South larger as against themselves,—since the negro vote, though in fact suppressed, increases that representation,—are now resolved at all hazards to recapture some of those States and districts which it was their aim in 1870 to keep forever attached to themselves. A European observer need not inquire what basis there may be for this charge. It is enough for him to remark that, even were it well founded, it would not affect the merits of the proposal to protect the negro voter by conducting national elections under the authority of the national government. There is a very strong presumption in favor of enforcing a law which actually exists. Under the constitution the negro has the suffrage. He is—this nobody denies—in many districts practically excluded from the enjoyment of it. Two courses are open. If the law cannot be enforced, it ought to be repealed. If it cannot be repealed, it ought to be enforced. No one supposes it can be repealed. Those, therefore, who advocate its enforcement by that very authority which made it have a weighty *primâ-facie* case. Whatever may be their secret motives, they come forward as the protectors and vindicators of law, of orderly government, of democratic principles.

The first argument used against this proposal was that it would be unconstitutional—a point which cannot profitably be discussed here, though one may observe in passing that, while the federal control of elections would depart pretty widely from previous usage and from what may be (somewhat vaguely) called the general conventions and tendency of the constitution, most lawyers would be inclined to think that the letter of the constitution covers it. But there are practical objections of undeniable weight. One of these is that such a remedy would be but partial, since it could not extend to protect the negro in State elections. Another is that it might lead to breaches of the peace and even to conflicts between federal troops and an angry population—conflicts whose results in accentuating sectional feeling must be disastrous. Whether or no things would go so far as this, no one who travels through the South can doubt that the interference

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of the federal power would exasperate men's minds. It would be resented both as interference with State rights and as the act of a hostile majority acting in its own party interests. It might stop, or at least greatly retard, the progress of the colored people by inflaming white feeling and by disposing the whites to withhold those large sums which they now vote for negro education. It would certainly intensify race antagonism and social divergence, so that one is not surprised to hear that many thoughtful negroes believe their own people would lose in the social sphere more than they could gain in the political, and declare that the irritation of Southern sentiment against them would outweigh any benefit to be expected from the strict enforcement of their legal rights.

A stranger who seeks to examine the proposed measure by the light of American history and European experience will be apt to think that it is an attempt to overcome nature by force of law. The negroes have been unable to protect themselves in the exercise of the suffrage because they are naturally inferior to the whites—inferior in intelligence, in tenacity, in courage, in the power of organization and cohesion. This inferiority was forgotten or disregarded by those who gave them the suffrage. But it made itself painfully felt, first in the badness of the State governments which the negro vote supported, next in the collapse of those governments, and in the ease with which the whites have been able to dominate ever since. Power naturally falls in a community to the strongest, and law undertakes a tremendous task when it attempts not merely to protect the ordinary civil rights of a backward race, but actually to force the rod of authority into their feeble grasp. It is true that all that federal legislation and federal troops could secure would be the full delivery of the colored vote at federal elections; not also at State elections. Further they could not go. This, however, is regarded by the South as virtually tantamount to an attempt to reëstablish negro ascendency, would be resented accordingly, and would more than ever stimulate the naturally stronger race to crush, in whatever way remained open to it, the naturally weaker.

If the nation refuses to take active steps to protect the negro in the exercise of his political rights, might it not fall back upon the other alternative and withdraw those rights themselves, altering the constitution so as to permit States to discriminate against citizens on the ground of color? It might; but no one supposes

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for a moment that it ever will; not only because the feeling against such a change in the constitution would be highly unpopular, but because even those who might desire it for political reasons would think it unadvisable on social grounds, as tending to degrade the colored man, purely and simply as a colored man, below the rest of the community. The same objection would not, however, apply to a scheme which should exclude from the suffrage the ignorant mass of negro population, not on the ground of color, but by the action of an educational qualification. There is nothing in the federal constitution to forbid the enactment of such a provision, which actually exists in a few of the Northern States already (though it does not seem to be rigidly enforced). Each State is perfectly free to restrict the electoral franchise in any way it pleases, so long as the restriction is not based on "race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

The advantages of dealing with the problem by this method are obvious. It admits of variations in different States, and would, even if enacted in the same form by different States, operate differently according to the degree in which education had advanced in each particular State. In Maryland, for instance, or Kentucky, it would exclude a smaller proportion of the colored population than in South Carolina, where illiteracy is more general. It would stimulate the desire of the negroes to acquire knowledge. It would cast no slur upon them as a race, and would not wear the aspect of a retrogression from the generous—perhaps too generous—policy of the period which followed the Civil War. It would spring from, and would conform to, the real character of the difficulty in which the Southern States find themselves. That difficulty arises from the fact, not that colored men can vote, but that the majority of the colored voters are not capable voters, competent for the active functions of citizenship. To deprive the educated and intelligent minority of colored men of these functions would be not only an injustice to them, but a source of evil to the community, for it would increase their discontent, and destroy their attachment to American institutions. But the exclusion of the incompetent on the ground of personal incompetency need excite no resentment, and would probably be followed by the discontinuance of the present artifices practised against colored voters. An outside observer may even think that the precedent of a discriminative suffrage law, withholding a

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share in government from those still unfit to use it, would be a valuable one for the whole country. The desirability of universal suffrage, for whites, has been exalted in America to the rank of an axiomatic truth, and applied with hasty confidence. Nothing can be plainer than the mischief it is working in those parts of the Union which receive swarms of ignorant immigrants from the most backward populations of Europe. If the introduction of qualifications for the suffrage in the South should lead some of the Northern and Middle States to reconsider the above-mentioned dogma, and to withhold the means of injuring the commonwealth from new comers unfit to vote intelligently, whether through their general political incompetence or owing to their ignorance of the English language and of American institutions, a service of no small consequence would have been rendered.

There are, however, two considerations which have deterred the States of the South from what might otherwise seem the obviously right course. One is the fact that in lessening the total number of their voters they would lessen their representation in Congress, and therewith their weight in presidential elections. This is just the kind of motive which, though philosophers may condemn it, tells powerfully with practical politicians. The other is the case of the poor whites of the South. There is still much illiteracy among them; far less, to be sure, than among the negroes, but enough in nearly all the States to swell to many thousands the number whom a really effective educational qualification would exclude. It is an unpopular thing to propose to these illiterate voters, some of them, though illiterate, not politically incompetent, that they should disfranchise themselves. Many of them would rather continue to exclude the negro by illegitimate devices than purchase his exclusion by the surrender of their own privileges. However, the State of Mississippi has in its new constitution, adopted in 1890, moved in this direction. It is a State in which there is a huge negro population (747,720, against 539,703 whites), and where, therefore, some action was called for. Here are the provisions bearing on the subject:

Section 241 enacts that every male inhabitant who has resided for two years in the State and one year (or, if he be a minister of the gospel, six months) in the election district, and has paid all his taxes for the two preceding years, shall have the right of vot-

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ing. A previous section imposes a poll-tax of $2 (to be applied to the support of the common schools) upon all male inhabitants. Section 244 enacts as follows :

"Every elector shall, in addition, be able to read any section of the constitution of this State, or he shall be able to understand the same when read to him, or give a reasonable interpretation thereof."

This curious provision might, no doubt, be so administered by a perfectly upright and impartial authority as to admit substantially competent and exclude substantially incompetent persons, irrespective of color. But it has a suspicious air. One may conjecture that a white official will be more readily satisfied with the "reasonable interpretation" which a brother white gives of some section, say this section, of the constitution, than with the explanation tendered by a negro applicant. Such discrimination will be all the easier because illiterate whites will as a rule understand the matter better than illiterate negroes. However, even if the section is so worked as to disfranchise most of the negroes and hardly any of the whites, it is perhaps better that the disfranchisement should take place in this form than by bulldozing or fraudulent counts.

Of the solutions of the political side of the negro question which I have rapidly reviewed, the last will probably be deemed by unprejudiced minds the most simple, natural, and pacific. If an educational or a property qualification, or a combination of both kinds of qualification, were honestly and fairly put in force at the South, both the sense of wrong among the negroes and the sense of danger among the whites would be removed, while the bad habit of tampering with the ballot-box would disappear. Many of the wisest men in the South desire such a solution, and think it not unattainable. They recognize, however, the great obstacles which the illiteracy of a part of the poor white population interposes.

Supposing that these obstacles should prove insuperable, and assuming, as one may safely assume, that neither the commixture of the two races nor the elimination of the negro by removal to Africa can be carried out, the question remains whether the federal power must intervene, or whether it will be better to let things take their natural course. It is from no blindness to the evils of the situation as it stands, nor from any want of sympathy with the negro, that I conceive the latter policy to be the safer

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one. The maxim that the physician who doubts whether to administer a drug or not had better refrain, is applicable to legislative interference. Where the reasons for and against such interference are nearly balanced, where success, though possible, is quite uncertain, non-interference is to be preferred, because in politics as in the human body, there is a tendency similar to that which used to be called the *vis medicatrix naturæ*. Things find their level and readjust themselves according to their natural affinities and the balance of actual forces, not, perhaps, in the best way, but in a way which has elements of stability. The reconstructors after the war disregarded the balance of the local forces they found in the South, too readily believing that federal law would prevail against the purposes or passions of the whites. Events have proved that they erred; and another error of the same kind might turn out as ill.

To one who travels through the South, that which seems most needed is the allaying of alarms, the appeasement of irritation, the supersession by other political questions of that constant recurrence to the negro difficulty which harasses men's minds. Could these alarms be removed, and were the negro left to acquiesce in his present exclusion as a temporary evil, which would vanish in a quieter time, things would steadily improve. When he ceased to attempt assertions of his power, the whites would desist from the acts by which his vote is now nullified. Such negroes (chiefly the intelligent townsfolk) as did vote would no longer vote in a compact body, but would divide according to their proclivities on the particular issue of the moment. Their votes would come to be courted by the white parties; and those parties would in time form and shape themselves without a constant and dominating reference to the negro question. If a stranger may venture to express his view on a point of domestic politics, I would say that the solidity of the South, so displeasing to many at the North, is more likely to be broken up by letting the negro alone than by agitating for his protection.

Patience and inaction are distasteful to men who feel, as many friends of the negro do feel keenly, the hardships of his position. But the situation has elements of hope in it. The South is changing in many ways. I do not refer to the latest political developments there, and particularly to the Farmers' Alliance party, for a party which represents the less cultivated sections

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of Southern society may prove to have as kindly feelings towards the negro as the older aristocracy of the South has shown. The lynching and other acts of violence which take place now are the work of the poor whites far more frequently than of the descendants of slave-owners. I speak rather of the economic changes that are in progress, of the enormous development of mining and manufacturing industries in large areas in the western parts of Virginia and North Carolina, in eastern Kentucky and eastern Tennessee, in northern Georgia and northern Alabama. New cities are rising, new industries are springing up, workpeople as well as employers are flowing in from the Northern and Middle States; many of the old Southern families are recovering from the losses of the war time; there is a general air of stir and movement and prosperity through tracts where twenty years ago land was not worth the clearing. This prosperity has not merely created new commercial ties between the South and the North, stimulated the growth of the white population in several States, and brought a new civilizing influence to bear upon the negroes. It has also given a new turn to the thoughts of Southern men, made them more eager and more energetic, opened up a new vista of material and social development. People are usually good-natured when they are prosperous, and are more apt to take a sanguine view of their position. Even the negro difficulty will, after another twenty years of such prosperity as these parts of the South seem likely to enjoy, look far less formidable. It will not fill everybody's thoughts as it does now. The negro will be regarded more as a useful reservoir of labor, less as a possible source of danger.

In proving that the colored population grows more slowly than the white, the census just taken has removed another cause of anxiety. It is now clear that the negro, regarded as a factor in the whole community, is becoming relatively far weaker; nor is the process likely to be arrested, because any diminution of the death-rate—now terribly high—would almost certainly be accompanied by a decline in the birth-rate. Taking all these phenomena together, there is good reason to hope that the anxiety with which the whites have regarded the political part of the negro problem may decline; and that as they have less fear of the results of his vote, they will less and less care to interfere with it.

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Behind the political problem, however, there stands the further question of the moral and intellectual elevation of the negro, and of his social relations with the whites. Here there is evidently still less room to hope much from legislative interference. Of social equality between the races there is no prospect. The absence of intermarriage and of any wish to intermarry is a serious obstacle to any social intercourse of a familiar and domestic kind. It is, however, possible that easier and more natural relations should spring up; that offences against negroes should be more frequently punished; that the separation enforced in schools and in places of public resort should be less rigid. These improvements, being matters within the sphere of State law, cannot be looked for until public sentiment has begun to change. It is likely to be favorably influenced, not only by the cessation of political alarms, but by the progress of the negro race itself; by its growth in industry and self-control; by the diminution of crime among its ranks.

I am aware that there are those who doubt this progress. To the traveller, however, who compares the South of 1890 with the South of 1883, the evidence seems conclusive that, although in some districts where they live isolated in large masses the negroes, if not relapsing into barbarism, may be standing still, yet over the country at large they are steadily advancing, and advancing by their own exertions as well as by the help of the whites. Thus the signs for the future are on the whole encouraging—encouraging not only as regards the negro himself, but as regards those great commonwealths in which his home lies. The future stages of the problem will be watched with the keenest interest by those who perceive how much its solution may affect the general welfare of the United States and the working-out of the largest scheme of democratic self-government which the world has seen. But although there will be anxiety mingled with this interest, there will be hope also—hope more confident than could have been entertained by any one who saw the South before the war or in the days that immediately followed reconstruction.

JAMES BRYCE.

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THE THREE PHILANTHROPISTS.

BY COLONEL ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

I.

"Well, while I am a beggar, I will rail,
And say there is no sin but to be rich."

Mr. A. lived in the kingdom of ———. He was a sincere professional philanthropist. He was absolutely certain that he loved his fellow men, and that his views were humane and scientific. He concluded to turn his attention to taking care of people less fortunate than himself.

With this object in view he investigated the common people that lived about him, and he found that they were extremely ignorant, that many of them seemed to take no particular interest in life or in business, that few of them had any theories of their own, and that, while many had muscle, there was only now and then one who had any mind worth speaking of. Nearly all of them were destitute of ambition. They were satisfied if they got something to eat, a place to sleep, and could now and then indulge in some form of dissipation. They seemed to have great confidence in to-morrow—trusted to luck, and took no thought for the future. Many of them were extravagant, most of them dissipated, and a good many dishonest.

Mr. A. found that many of the husbands not only failed to support their families, but that some of them lived on the labor of their wives; that many of the wives were careless of their obligations, knew nothing about the art of cooking, nothing of keeping house; and that parents, as a general thing, neglected their children or treated them with cruelty. He also found that many of the people were so shiftless that they died of want and exposure.

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After having obtained this information Mr. A. made up his mind to do what little he could to better their condition. He petitioned the King to assist him, and asked that he be allowed to take control of five hundred people in consideration that he would pay a certain amount into the treasury of the kingdom. The King, being satisfied that Mr. A. could take care of these people better than they were taking care of themselves, granted the petition.

Mr. A., with the assistance of a few soldiers, took these people from their old homes and haunts to a plantation of his own. He divided them into groups, and over each group placed a superintendent. He made certain rules and regulations for their conduct. They were only compelled to work from twelve to fourteen hours a day, leaving ten hours for sleep and recreation. Good and substantial food was provided. Their houses were comfortable and their clothing sufficient. Their work was laid out from day to day and from month to month, so that they knew exactly what they were to do in each hour of every day. These rules were made for the good of the people, to the end that they might not interfere with each other, that they might attend to their duties, and enjoy themselves in a reasonable way. They were not allowed to waste their time, or to use stimulants or profane language. They were told to be respectful to the superintendents, and especially to Mr. A.; to be obedient, and, above all, to accept the position in which Providence had placed them, without complaining, and to cheerfully perform their tasks.

Mr. A. had found out all that the five hundred persons had earned the year before they were taken control of by him—just how much they had added to the wealth of the world. He had statistics taken for the year before with great care showing the number of deaths, the cases of sickness and of destitution, the number who had committed suicide, how many had been convicted of crimes and misdemeanors, how many days they had been idle, and how much time and money they had spent in drink and for worthless amusements.

During the first year of their enslavement he kept like statistics. He found that they had earned several times as much; that there had been no cases of destitution, no drunkenness; that no crimes had been committed; that there had been but little sickness, owing to the regular course of their lives; that few had been

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guilty of misdemeanors, owing to the certainty of punishment; and that they had been so watched and superintended that for the most part they had travelled the highway of virtue and industry.

Mr. A. was delighted, and with a vast deal of pride showed these statistics to his friends. He not only demonstrated that the five hundred people were better off than they had been before, but that his own income was very largely increased. He congratulated himself that he had added to the well-being of these people not only, but had laid the foundation of a great fortune for himself. On these facts and these figures he claimed not only to be a philanthropist, but a philosopher; and all the people who had a mind to go into the same business agreed with him.

Some denounced the entire proceeding as unwarranted, as contrary to reason and justice. These insisted that the five hundred people had a right to live in their own way, provided they did not interfere with others; that they had the right to go through the world with little food and with poor clothes, and to live in huts, if such was their choice. But Mr. A. had no trouble in answering these objectors. He insisted that well-being is the only good, and that every human being is under obligation, not only to take care of himself, but to do what little he can towards taking care of others; that where five hundred people neglect to take care of themselves, it is the duty of somebody else, who has more intelligence and more means, to take care of them; that the man who takes five hundred people and improves their condition, gives them on the average better food, better clothes, and keeps them out of mischief, is a benefactor.

"These people," said Mr. A., "were tried. They were found incapable of taking care of themselves. They lacked intelligence, or will, or honesty, or industry, or ambition, or something, so that in the struggle for existence they fell behind, became stragglers, dropped by the wayside, died in gutters; while many were destined to end their days either in dungeons or on scaffolds. Besides all this, they were a nuisance to their prosperous fellow citizens, a perpetual menace to the peace of society. They increased the burden of taxation; they filled the ranks of the criminal classes, they made it necessary to build more jails, to employ more policemen and judges; so that I, by enslaving them, not only assisted them, not only protected them against them-

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selves, not only bettered their condition, not only added to the well-being of society at large, but greatly increased my own fortune."

Mr. A. also took the ground that Providence, by giving him superior intelligence, the genius of command, the aptitude for taking charge of others, had made it his duty to exercise these faculties for the well-being of the people and for the glory of God. Mr. A. frequently declared that he was God's steward. He often said he thanked God that he was not governed by a sickly sentiment, but that he was a man of sense, of judgment, of force of character, and that the means employed by him were in accordance with the logic of facts.

Some of the people thus enslaved objected, saying that they had the same right to control themselves that Mr. A. had to control himself. But it only required a little discipline to satisfy them that they were wrong. Some of the people were quite happy, and declared that nothing gave them such perfect contentment as the absence of all responsibility. Mr. A. insisted that all men had not been endowed with the same capacity; that the weak ought to be cared for by the strong; that such was evidently the design of the Creator, and that he intended to do what little he could to carry that design into effect.

Mr. A. was very successful. In a few years he had several thousands of men, women, and children working for him. He amassed a large fortune. He felt that he had been intrusted with this money by Providence. He therefore built several churches, and once in a while gave large sums to societies for the spread of civilization. He passed away regretted by a great many people,—not including those who had lived under his immediate administration. He was buried with great pomp, the King being one of the pall-bearers, and on his tomb was this:

HE WAS THE PROVIDENCE OF THE POOR.

II.

"And, being rich, my virtue then shall be
To say there is no vice but beggary."

Mr. B. did not believe in slavery. He despised the institution with every drop of his blood, and was an advocate of universal

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freedom. He held all of the ideas of Mr. A. in supreme contempt, and frequently spent whole evenings in denouncing the inhumanity and injustice of the whole business. He even went so far as to contend that many of A.'s slaves had more intelligence than A. himself, and that, whether they had intelligence or not, they had the right to be free. He insisted that Mr. A.'s philanthrophy was a sham; that he never bought a human being for the purpose of bettering that being's condition; that he went into the business simply to make money for himself; and that his talk about his slaves committing less crime than when they were free was simply to justify the crime committed by himself in enslaving his fellow men.

Mr. B. was a manufacturer, and he employed some five or six thousand men. He used to say that these men were not forced to work for him; that they were at perfect liberty to accept or reject the terms; that, so far as he was concerned, he would just as soon commit larceny or robbery as to force a man to work for him. "Every laborer under my roof," he used to say, "is as free to choose as I am."

Mr. B. believed in absolutely free trade; thought it an outrage to interefere with the free interplay of forces; said that every man should buy, or at least have the privilege of buying, where he could buy cheapest, and should have the privilege of selling where he could get the most. He insisted that a man who has labor to sell has the right to sell it to the best advantage, and that the purchaser has the right to buy it at the lowest price. He did not enslave men—he hired them. Some said that he took advantage of their necessities; but he answered that he created no necessities, that he was not responsible for their condition, that he did not make them poor, that he found them poor and gave them work, and gave them the same wages that he could employ others for. He insisted that he was absolutely just to all; he did not give one man more than another, and he never refused to employ a man on account of the man's religion or politics; all that he did was simply to employ that man if the man wished to be employed, and give him the wages, no more and no less, that some other man of like capacity was willing to work for.

Mr. B. also said that the price of the article manufactured by him fixed the wages of the persons employed, and that he, Mr.

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B., was not responsible for the price of the article he manufactured; consequently he was not responsible for the wages of the workmen. He agreed to pay them a certain price, he taking the risk of selling his articles, and he paid them regularly just on the day he agreed to pay them, and if they were not satisfied with the wages, they were at perfect liberty to leave. One of his private sayings was: "The poor ye have always with you." And from this he argued that some men were made poor so that others could be generous. "Take poverty and suffering from the world," he said, "and you destroy sympathy and generosity."

Mr. B. made a large amount of money. Many of his workmen complained that their wages did not allow them to live in comfort. Many had large families, and therefore but little to eat. Some of them lived in crowded rooms. Many of the children were carried off by disease; but Mr. B. took the ground that all these people had the right to go, that he did not force them to remain, that if they were not healthy it was not his fault, and that whenever it pleased Providence to remove a child, or one of the parents, he, Mr. B., was not responsible.

Mr. B. insisted that many of his workmen were extravagant; that they bought things that they did not need; that they wasted in beer and tobacco money that they should save for funerals; that many of them visited places of amusement when they should have been thinking about death, and that others bought toys to please the children when they hardly had bread enough to eat. He felt that he was in no way accountable for this extravagance, nor for the fact that their wages did not give them the necessaries of life, because he not only gave them the same wages that other manufacturers gave, but the same wages that other workmen were willing to work for.

Mr. B. said,—and he always said this as though it ended the argument,—and he generally stood up to say it: "The great law of supply and demand is of divine origin; it is the only law that will work in all possible or conceivable cases; and this law fixes the price of all labor, and from it there is no appeal. If people are not satisfied with the operation of this law, then let them make a new world for themselves."

Some of Mr. B.'s friends reported that on several occasions, forgetting what he had said on others, he did declare that his confidence was somewhat weakened in the law of supply and de-

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mand; but this was only when there seemed to be an over-production of the things he was engaged in manufacturing, and at such times he seemed to doubt the absolute equity of the great law.

Mr. B. made even a larger fortune than Mr. A., because when his workmen got old he did not have to care for them, when they were sick he paid no doctors, and when their children died he bought no coffins. In this way he was relieved of a large part of the expenses that had to be borne by Mr. A. When his workmen became too old, they were sent to the poor-house; when they were sick, they were assisted by charitable societies; and when they died, they were buried by pity.

In a few years Mr. B. was the owner of many millions. He also considered himself as one of God's stewards; felt that Providence had given him the intelligence to combine interests, to carry out great schemes, and that he was specially raised up to give employment to many thousands of people. He often regretted that he could do no more for his laborers without lessening his own profits, or, rather, without lessening his fund for the blessing of mankind—the blessing to begin immediately after his death. He was so anxious to be the providence of posterity that he was sometimes almost heartless in his dealings with contemporaries. He felt that it was necessary for him to be economical, to save every dollar that he could, because in this way he could increase the fund that was finally to bless mankind. He also felt that in this way he could lay the foundations of a permanent fame—that he could build, through his executors, an asylum to be called the "B. Asylum," that he could fill a building with books to be called the "B. Library," and that he could also build and endow an institution of learning to be called the "B. College," and that, in addition, a large amount of money could be given for the purpose of civilizing the citizens of less fortunate countries, to the end that they might become imbued with that spirit of combination and manufacture that results in putting large fortunes in the hands of those who have been selected by Providence, on account of their talents, to make a better distribution of wealth than those who earned it could have done.

Mr. B. spent many thousands of dollars to procure such legislation as would protect him from foreign competition. He did

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not believe the law of supply and demand would work when interfered with by manufacturers living in other countries.

Mr. B., like Mr. A., was a man of judgment. He had what is called a level head, was not easily turned aside from his purpose, and felt that he was in accord with the general sentiment of his time. By his own exertions he rose from poverty to wealth. He was born in a hut and died in a palace. He was a patron of art and enriched his walls with the works of the masters. He insisted that others could and should follow his example. For those who failed or refused he had no sympathy. He accounted for their poverty and wretchedness by saying: "These paupers have only themselves to blame." He died without ever having lost a dollar. His funeral was magnificent, and clergymen vied with each other in laudations of the dead. Over his dust rises a monument of marble with the words:

HE LIVED FOR OTHERS.

III.

"But there are men who steal, and vainly try
To gild the crime with pompous charity."

There was another man, Mr. C., who also had the genius for combination. He understood the value of capital, the value of labor; knew exactly how much could be done with machinery; understood the economy of things; knew how to do everything in the easiest and shortest way. And he, too, was a manufacturer and had in his employ many thousands of men, women, and children. He was what is called a visionary, a sentimentalist, rather weak in his will, not very obstinate, had but little egotism; and it never occurred to him that he had been selected by Providence, or any supernatural power, to divide the property of others. It did not seem to him that he had any right to take from other men their labor without giving them a full equivalent. He felt that if he had more intelligence than his fellow men he ought to use that intelligence not only for his own good but for theirs; that he certainly ought not to use it for the purpose of gaining an advantage over those who were his intellectual inferiors. He used to say that a man strong intellectually had no more right to take

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advantage of a man weak intellectually than the physically strong had to rob the physically weak.

He also insisted that we should not take advantage of each other's necessities; that you should not ask a drowning man a greater price for lumber than you would if he stood on the shore; that if you took into consideration the necessities of your fellow man, it should be only to lessen the price of that which you would sell to him, not to increase it. He insisted that honest men do not take advantage of their fellows. He was so weak that he had not perfect confidence in the great law of supply and demand as applied to flesh and blood. He took into consideration another law of supply and demand: he knew that the workingman had to be supplied with food, and that his nature demanded something to eat, a house to live in, clothes to wear.

Mr. C. used to think about this law of supply and demand as applicable to individuals. He found that men would work for exceedingly small wages when pressed for the necessaries of life; that under some circumstances they would give their labor for half of what it was worth to the employer, because they were in a position where they must do something for wife or child. He concluded that he had no right to take advantage of the necessities of others, and that he should in the first place honestly find what the work was worth to him, and then give to the man who did the work that amount.

Other manufacturers regarded Mr. C. as substantially insane, while most of his workmen looked upon him as an exceedingly good-natured man, without any particular genius for business. Mr. C., however, cared little about the opinions of others, so long as he maintained his respect for himself.

At the end of the first year he found that he had made a large profit, and thereupon he divided this profit with the people who had earned it. Some of his friends said to him that he ought to endow some public institution; that there should be a college in his native town; but Mr. C. was of such a peculiar turn of mind that he thought justice ought to go before charity, and a little in front of egotism and a desire to immortalize one's self. He said that it seemed to him that of all persons in the world entitled to this profit were the men who had earned it, the men who had made it by their labor, by days of actual toil. He insisted that, as they had earned it, it was really

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theirs, and if it was theirs, they should have it and should spend it in their own way.

Mr. C. was told that he would make the workmen in other factories dissatisfied, that other manufacturers would become his enemies, and that his course would scandalize some of the greatest men who had done so much for the civilization of the world and for the spread of intelligence. Mr. C. became extremely unpopular with men of talent, with those who had a genius for business. He, however, pursued his way, and carried on his business with the idea that the men who did the work were entitled to a fair share of the profits; that, after all, money was not as sacred as men, and that the law of supply and demand, as understood, did not apply to flesh and blood.

Mr. C. said: "I cannot be happy if those who work for me are defrauded. If I feel I am taking what belongs to them, then my life becomes miserable. To feel that I have done justice is one of the necessities of my nature. I do not wish to establish colleges. I wish to establish no public institution. My desire is to enable those who work for me to establish a few thousand homes for themselves. My ambition is to enable them to buy the books they really want to read. I do not wish to establish a hospital, but I want to make it possible for my workmen to have the services of the best physicians —physicians of their own choice. It is not for me to take their money and use it for the good of others or for my own glory. It is for me to give what they have earned to them. After I have given them the money that belongs to them, I can give them my advice—I can tell them how I hope they will use it; and after I have advised them, they will use it as they please. You cannot make great men and great women by suppression. Slavery is not the school in which genius is born. Every human being must make his own mistakes for himself, must learn for himself, must have his own experience; and if the world improves, it must be from choice, not from force; and every man who does justice, who sets the example of fair dealing, hastens the coming of universal honesty, of universal civilization."

Mr. C. carried his doctrine out to the fullest extent, honestly and faithfully. When he died, there were at the funeral those who had worked for him, their wives and their children. Their

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tears fell upon his grave. They planted flowers and paid to him the tribute of their love. Above his silent dust they erected a monument with this inscription:

HE ALLOWED OTHERS TO LIVE FOR THEMSELVES.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

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THE BENEFITS OF WAR.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL S. B. LUCE, UNITED STATES NAVY.

WAR is one of the great agencies by which human progress is effected.

Scourge though it be, and much as its practice is to be deplored, we must still recognize war as the operation of the economic laws of nature for the government of the human family. It stimulates national growth, solves otherwise insoluble problems of domestic and political economy, and purges a nation of its humors. According to an ancient proverb, *Purgamenta hujus mundi sunt tria, pestis, bellum, et frateria.*

War is the malady of nations; the disease is terrible while it lasts, but purifying in its results. It tries a nation and chastens it, as sickness or adversity tries and chastens the individual. There is a wisdom that comes only of suffering, whether to the family or to the aggregation of families—the nation. Man is perfected through suffering.

What is true of the average individual is true of the mass of individuals—the people.

Some of the richest contributions to literature, art, and science have been the offsprings of indigence. Want brings out the natural gifts that affluence stifles. So, in the economy of nature, or the providence of God, war is sent, not necessarily for the punishment of national sins, nor yet for national aggrandizement; but, rather, for the forming of national character, the shaping of a people's destiny, and the spreading of civilization.

It is only through long years of severe trials and tribulations that many men and women have been schooled to ultimate success. So nations, before achieving greatness, have had to struggle through periods of bitter strife before the various factions, with their conflicting interests, have been formed into one homogeneous mass.

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As adversity and opposition toughen the mental and moral fibre and temper the spirit of man, so riches and easily-acquired success enervate the strongest character and unfit it for protracted effort. It is the same with nations. War arouses all the latent energies of a people, stimulates them to the highest exertion, and develops their mental and material resources.

History presents few finer pictures than that of the Roman Senate thanking Varro at the city gates because, after Cannæ, "he had not despaired of the republic." Steeled by incessant warfare to an inflexible resolution, not gold, but Rome's best blood, was named by those stern Senators, in that desperate hour, as the price of liberty.

But the "cankers of a calm world and long peace" atrophize the active forces, and luxury becomes more destructive than the sword.

Rome, once mistress of the world, the seat of arts, empire, and glory, fell by corruption to a state of sloth, ignorance, and poverty. From "virtuous industry," says the historian, "it passed to wealth; from wealth to luxury; from luxury to an impatience of discipline and corruption of morals; till, by a total degeneracy and loss of virtue, being grown ripe for destruction, it fell at last under the hand of the oppressor; and, with the loss of liberty, losing everything that was valuable, sank gradually again into its original barbarism." Such is the law of the rise and fall of nations.

But for war the civilization we now enjoy would have been impossible. The swath cut by the reaper's sickle through fields of ripened grain is not more marked than the way cut by the sword for the path of human progress. "Westward the star of empire took its way," for westward set the tide of conquest.

The imposing wave of barbaric triumph swept from Asia across the Ægean Sea, only to be turned back by united Greece armed in the sacred cause of liberty. The battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa were only so many stepping-stones towards an ascendency of Hellenic civilization, the influence of which on human affairs can never die. Without war Greece would have lived on æstheticism and wasted its life in idle dreams.

The overthrow of the Persian Empire by the trained soldiers of Macedonia, it has been well observed, is the first great revolution in the affairs of mankind of which we have knowledge. The

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fall of Carthage and the elevation of Rome from the same cause —disciplined troops—are the second. These were great strides in the course of human progress. Hannibal's long and devastating campaigns in Italy moulded through years of battle the martial Roman of a later day, as already noted, and prepared the City of the Seven Hills, as no discipline but war could have prepared her, to reign mistress of the world, and give laws and letters to nations then unborn. "No power," remarks a modern historian, "was ever based on foundations so sure and deep as those which Rome laid during three centuries of conquest."

Says a profound student of biblical literature: "The world, before it was ready to accept Hellenism and Christianity, had to be prepared and made smooth for centuries beforehand. A great humanizing force had to be created—a force powerful enough to beat down the obstacles which local patriotism offered to the idealistic propaganda of Greece and Judea. Rome fulfilled this extraordinary function. Rome, by prodigies of civic virtue, created the force of the world, and this force served to propagate the work of Greece and the work of Judea—that is to say, civilization." The Roman legions supplied the force.

The eagles of Cæsar spread through western Europe, and among the rude Britons, the seeds of civilization, and prepared the way for higher forms of political life. Later on, generations of fierce contention between the Dane and Saxon, Angle and Norman, on the soil of Britain, fused these various peoples into the English-speaking race of the present day. Thus by war were amalgamated three branches of the great Teutonic family with each other and with the original Briton. The Great Charter, wrung from King John by those iron barons, "sword in hand," as Sir William Blackstone tells us, united the Normans and the Saxons and forms the first chapter in the history of the English nation. The Great Charter and the Bill of Rights, and the principles of civil and religious liberty they embody, are the priceless heritage of every American. Their full enjoyment, it must be remembered, cost "rivers of English blood." Transplanted to the shores of America, those principles assumed, according to the law of evolution, still higher forms; but their possession had first to be won and then maintained by the sword.

From the "blue Cyclades" to the slopes of the Pacific, war has made possible the slow, but certain, development of the great

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law of human progress, and of the principles of democracy. The operation of this law is not to be arrested on the hither shores of the Pacific; nor is history to be turned back. The course of empire still holds its accustomed way. With the United States, as the dominant power of the western world, lies the obligation of contributing her share to the further extension of civilization, to the spreading of the gospel, and conveying to less favored nations the most enlightened views of civil government. Peaceful commerce is one of the forces by which this end may be attained; and the Pacific and its further shores the field of its operations. This splendid work our people are now content to leave to England and those most effective missionaries, her military and mercantile marines. The time will come, however, when the nation, in its manhood, will "put away childish things," assume its own high responsibilities, and organize its forces for practical use.

We are far from maintaining that war is the only agency through which the present advanced state of civilization has been reached. Christianity has been, and must continue to be, an indispensable factor. But the sword has ever preceded the banner of the cross. Indeed, Christianity, as we shall see, has often had to work its own way through the instrumentality of the sword.

Commerce is another great factor. By it civilization is carried over wide seas to distant lands; but commerce owes its extension and protection to the military arm of the people it represents.*

Wars have sometimes been precipitated in spite of all human efforts to prevent them. As in the presence of the convulsions of nature man feels his utter nothingness, so in the great political and religious movements which have marked certain epochs in history man has found himself impotent to either control or guide the march of events. It is then that he acknowledges that human affairs are directed by a power above and beyond this world, for the ultimate good of his race. Such was, preëminently, the case in this country in 1861. It was so in England in 1642. That revolution which "taught Englishmen what good government meant," and is part of the history of this country, was the natural

* It seems like uttering a platitude to quote De Tocqueville's remark that "reason and experience prove that no commercial prosperity can be durable if it cannot be united in case of need to naval force." ("Democracy in America.") His prophecy that "America will one day become the first maritime power of the globe—they are born to rule seas, as the Romans were to conquer the world," will doubtless be fulfilled in time.

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fruit of the Reformation. It was the first collision between freedom of inquiry and absolute monarchy. In the impulse which was given to human thought, and in the abolition of absolute power in the spiritual order, the Reformation, we are told, accomplished far more than it had undertaken or even dreamed of. It failed to even comprehend the vast extent of its own work. It did not respect the rights of opinion. At the very moment of demanding those rights for itself, it was violating them towards others. Great as its work undoubtedly was, it could be completed only through the agency of the sword.

That protracted and bloody drama, the Thirty Years' War, which in the name of religion devastated and impoverished Germany, saved Protestantism from obliteration, insured religious toleration, and opened the way to the German intellectual life of a later time.

The net results of Napoleon's campaigns were to break up the system of petty states in Germany and Italy, "to reawaken the spirit of inquiry in the people, to sweep away the relics of an effete feudalism, and leave the ground clear for the growth of newer and better forms of political life."

Our own Civil War furnishes as notable an example as may be found in history of the operation of this law of strife by which human progress is effected. War was the only means of solving the great political problem of the abolition of slavery, and the phenomenal progress, not of the South alone, but of the whole country, during the past twenty-five years, bears abundant testimony to the quickening influences of that momentous struggle.

Heaven forbid that we should even seem to be an advocate of war. We are not an advocate of war, nor of pestilence, nor of famine. On the contrary, we join with the church in praying for deliverance from them. But this is not a question of what one could wish: it is a question of a great fundamental truth.

From constantly recurring phenomena of the same class covering periods marked by centuries, and the tendency of the same phenomena at the present time, we are enabled to arrive at certain laws. Thus from the frequency of wars both in ancient and in modern times, even up to the present writing, and from the marked influence those wars have had on national life and character, it is impossible to escape the conviction that they are the results of fixed laws, and not the products of human in-

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stitutions established, and admitting of being abolished, by the commonwealth of nations.

Strife in one form or another in the organic world seems to be the law of existence. "Life," the scientist tells us, is but "the sum of all the forces that resist death." Suspend the struggle, well called the battle of life, for a brief space, and death claims the victory. The struggle begins at birth, and ends in one unvarying way at the grave.

In the battle of life there are two distinct lines of operation—that which has to do with physical and that which has to do with moral laws.

In this way it comes that a man finds himself at war first with himself, and then with his neighbor. The supreme law of self-preservation compels a man to obtain his daily bread. Acquisitiveness begets avarice. To save his darling treasure a man will defraud his brother; hence family feuds. From inherent weakness and clashing of opinion there are bitter contentions among churchmen; among congregations and their pastors; among Christian associations of various kinds. Strife is continual and everywhere in this wicked world. In the sublime vision of St. John the Divine, there was war in heaven when the archangel Michael and his legions of angels fought against the dragon, which is the evil one. It was the strife between the principle of good and the principle of evil; and where is that strife maintained but in the human heart? St. James asks of the turbulent Jews of Palestine: "From whence come wars and fightings among you? come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?" And St. Paul, writing to the Christians in Rome, struck the same keynote of human passions: "I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members."

It would be difficult to find in sacred or profane literature a clearer expression than St. Paul's of this fundamental law of human nature. As long as that law remains unchanged, just so long may we look for an inward conflict going on in every human bosom, and the predominance in one individual or another of the principle of good or the principle of evil; and just so long may we look for covetousness and envy, and for dissensions among individuals, communities, and nations.

By the very law of our nature, it thus appears, the well-spring

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of war is in the human heart. When the apostle of universal peace can change human nature itself, then may he hope to put an end to war. The utmost that we can now reasonably hope for is to lessen the frequency and the evils of war.

Sadly enough, religious wars are the most relentless; and the darkest and bloodiest pages of history have been recorded in the name of him who taught and practised the divine law of love. And yet, was it not even he who said, "Think not that I am come to send peace, . . . but a sword?"

It has been said that it was one of the greatest reproaches to human nature that wars are sometimes just; and the author of "Gesta Christi" complains that there is "one field where Christianity seems a failure." "War," he says, "still remains the most fearful curse upon mankind." On the same grounds we may regard disease as a reproach to human nature, and charge inadequacy to the Christian religion because we have such dreadful railroad accidents. Christianity, we apprehend, has to do with the regeneration of the human heart, and not with the laws of nature. "Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places." But "be not troubled," said the Holy one of Israel; "for all these things must come to pass." We are told, it is true, that there is a time coming when war shall cease. "Love is the fulfilling of the law," declared our Divine Master. That is to say, when the human heart shall have become regenerate, the prophecy will be fulfilled that the sword, the emblem of war, shall be turned into the ploughshare, the emblem of peace, and spears into reaping-hooks. "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Then that "old serpent which is the devil" shall be bound for a thousand years, and "deceive the nations no more till the thousand years be fulfilled." But Satan, still unbound, ceases not "from going to and fro in the earth and from walking up and down in it," and "deceiving the nations."

Contrary doctrines, founded on denunciations indiscriminately heaped upon the practice of war by various writers at various times, have been frequently expressed in recent years. The late Dr. Francis Wayland, in his "Elements of Moral Science," laid down the broad principle that "all wars are contrary to the revealed will

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of God."* Starting with that assumption, it is argued that the law of human progress is leading man to a state of moral perfection on earth; and that, because of the wonderful advances in the arts and sciences which have characterized the age, we must be rapidly approaching that blissful state. Orators find this a popular theme; people like to hear it. But the connection—say, rather, the *dis*connection, or, truer still, the antagonism—between material prosperity and spiritual growth is not made clear.

Of the whole range of sciences, moral science, founded on Christian ethics, on which the attainment of the earthly Eden depends, has made no progress in eighteen hundred years. The principles governing the moral world were laid down by the great founder of our church in the beginning, and left nothing to be said, no improvement to be made. He distinctly stated, moreover, and all his teachings went to show, that his kingdom was not of this world.

Even the preparation for war has been denounced. "From a general comprehension of the war system," said Charles Sumner, —and he has hosts of followers,—"we perceive the unchristian character of the preparations it encourages and requires."† But, according to Moses and the prophets, God himself worked out, through the agency of war, the destiny of his own chosen people. And our Saviour, so far from condemning war, counselled a wise prudence in regard to all worldly affairs. "What king," he asked, after his wonderful manner of conveying lessons of the most profound wisdom,—"What king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first, and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand? Or else, while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an ambassage, and desireth conditions of peace."

It was by war and pestilence that the children of Israel were disciplined. "If ye rebel," was the divine mandate, "ye shall be devoured with the sword: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

*It is only fair to state that during the Civil War Dr. Wayland became convinced of his mistake in this particular. But his work had long been used as a text-book in our schools, and the influence of his erroneous teaching on the subject referred to is still felt.

† Address before the American Peace Society, May 23, 1849, on "True Grandeur of Nations."

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Moses, the greatest military leader of ancient times, conducted his campaigns in accordance with the instructions received from God himself. For he had found grace in the sight of the Lord, who spake to him face to face, as a man speaketh to a friend. Deborah, the prophetess, and Barak, son of Abinoam, sang praises to the Lord for their victory over the Canaanites. "They fought from heaven" is their song; "The stars in their courses fought against Sisera." "The Lord is with thee, thou mighty man of valor," is the salutation of the angel to Gideon, as he was threshing wheat. Jephthah, receiving assurances of divine support, went out and defeated the sons of Ammon. Sacred history resounds with the clash of arms and the songs of triumph; and lurid beacon fires, streaming through the soft Syrian nights, frequently call God's people to war. The result of all these conflicts furnishes one of the most remarkable chapters in the history of the human race. From the lowest and most abject state of Egyptian bondage, the children of Israel were trained by war to become a powerful race, to take their stand among the nations of the earth, and give to all succeeding ages, in an imperishable literature, the principles of the highest civilization.

The ancient and "immovable civilization" of China, on the other hand, shows the stagnation of a people unaccustomed to war with a superior race. China, to day, presents a picture of what the modern world would have been without war.* The rights of man are there unknown.

War is certainly a great evil, and abhorrent to every right-minded person. So is small-pox. But it is not the greatest evil. Milton said, during the Commonwealth, that civil war was not as great an evil as a tyrannical government. "When the devil of tyranny," said he, "hath gone into the body politic, he departs not but with foaming and great convulsions: shall he, therefore, vex it forever, lest in going out he, for a moment, tear and rend it?"

The proper spirit in which to consider a great evil is to look it in the face, examine into its origin, and seek the causes which lead to its production. If these causes lie in the operation of

* The *modern* world. The civilization of China probably represents that of the Chaldeans, of about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, 588 B. C. The wars which China has engaged in with England and with France, while too restricted in their sphere of action to affect the mass of the Chinese people, have undoubtedly had a marked local influence.

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the laws of nature, which cannot be influenced by human action, then we must endeavor to modify the effects and ameliorate, as far as lies in our power, the conditions to which they give rise. Man cannot control the meteorological laws which manifest themselves in cyclones; but he can build ships and houses strong enough to withstand their violence. Medical science cannot conquer death, but it has done much to alleviate suffering; and statistics show that the average duration of human life has been increased through increased knowledge of the laws of hygiene. Moral science cannot boast of a like achievement. It has been stated on good authority that, while the population has increased 30 per cent. from 1870 to 1880, the number of criminals in the United States has increased 82.33 per cent. Immorality and crime are on the increase. This fact, coupled with those of the centralization of wealth and the interminable conflict between capital and labor, makes a gloomy outlook for that brotherhood of man which is to form the basis of universal peace.

Questions in medical science are submitted to rigorous investigation according to scientific methods. Questions in moral science are too often treated from a sentimental standpoint, or quietly ignored. Even in this enlightened age we seek to eradicate the "great social evil" by shutting our eyes to it. There is a widespread disposition to treat war in the same way—by shutting the public eye to it. What progress had pathology made by that method?

It is the popular and very proper thing to say that the progressive spirit of the age is leaving the barbarism of war behind, and that as civilization advances it will learn less of war. Arbitration is now the sovereign panacea for that national ill. But, as a matter of fact, war has never been so carefully and so systematically studied as at the present time. The genius of invention has never been so prolific as now in devising and improving implements of war. That man is honored and enriched who contrives means of destroying the greatest number of human beings in the shortest space of time. As the conduct of war becomes more scientific, and the art becomes refined, and the inplements more destructive, the recurrence of war is lessened, the duration shortened, and the loss of human life diminished. This is the direction the spirit of the age is taking—a direction in the interests of humanity.

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These humane conditions, however, involve an advanced stage of preparation. As a science war should be sedulously cultivated by the few qualified to undertake it; as an art it should be constantly practised by the entire body set apart for that purpose, and with the implements actually to be used in war. It is to this state of preparation that we owe the peace of Europe to-day. The mere presence of the American army on our southern frontier in 1866 was sufficient to cause the collapse of Louis Napoleon's scheme for a Mexican empire. By a perfect state of preparation a collision of arms was avoided and the shedding of blood spared. To be unprepared is wicked. It invites aggression and a useless effusion of blood. The question of an empire in Mexico supported by French bayonets was not one for arbitration. We simply would not have it.

There is a certain class of international questions for which arbitration is admirably suited; there is another class for which it is not suited at all—for which it is totally inadmissible. It is the lamb that advocates arbitration, even though the life and honor of the fold be involved, while the wolf maintains a lofty indifference to all such methods of proceeding.

Venezuela has been for years past supplicating for arbitration on the question of boundary between her own territory and that claimed by England; but it is only within the last few months that the latter power has, according to report, formally declined the good offices of the United States in that controversy.

Arbitration was inadmissible in 1860—61, when so sorely needed. War, which had been in the course of preparation for thirty years preceding its outbreak, was the only solution of the great problem. It had to be.

Arbitration fails miserably when most needed, and what wonder? The high contracting parties and their umpires are all men of like passions, having no court of last resort but the battle-field.

Every Christian, whatever may be his private convictions, must hope and pray for the success of the Universal Peace Association and the sufficiency of arbitration in all international disputes. But no American, be he Christian or not, should forget the moral effect on negotiations of the propinquity of an adequate force. It was the moral as well as the military effect of a large and victorious army on the Rio Grande that caused the with-

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drawal of the French army from Mexico. The hopelessness of a conflict with the veterans who had fought under Grant and Sherman was felt, not only in France, but throughout all Europe, to an extent difficult at this day to realize. But that that moral effect has, during the past quarter of a century, waned away is just as certain as it is that the vast military force which produced it has resolved itself into its original elements of peaceful and industrious citizenship.

The United States are known of all the world to be wanting in the disposition to utilize their abundant resources for military purposes—not with a view to conquest, but even for the defences suggested by the most ordinary prudence. Ready as they are to wage a commercial warfare, our people close their eyes to the possibilities of an actual collision of arms.

There are false prophets who proclaim that war is to be abolished and that preparation for war is a useless extravagance; who offer a cheap nostrum for a dreadful disease. Out of that fearful concatenation of evils set forth in the solemn litany of the Holy Catholic Church of America, wherein we are taught to supplicate deliverance from sin; from the crafts and assaults of the devil; from plague, pestilence, and famine; from battle and murder, and from sudden death, they select battle alone for extirpation. Why should they not include sin as well? Why not include the whole dreadful catalogue? Why not form an association for the suppression of all inordinate and sinful affections?

The truth is that war is an ordinance of God. The flaming sword that guards the way to sinless Eden will continue to prevail, until man enters once more into that peace which passeth all understanding, when the lust of the eye and the pride of life shall no more be known. But mortal man cannot yet discern the coming of that day.

Meanwhile let practical America recognize the truth that war is a calamity that may overtake the most peaceful nation, and that insurance against war by preparation for it is, of all methods, the most business-like, the most humane, and the most in accordance with the teachings of the Christian religion.

S. B. Luce, U. S. N.

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A GREAT STATISTICAL INVESTIGATION.

BY THE HON. CARROLL D. WRIGHT, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF LABOR.

THE Senate of the United States on March 3, 1891, authorized and directed its Committee on Finance to ascertain in every practicable way, and to report from time to time to the Senate, the effect of tariff laws upon the imports and exports, the growth, development, production, and prices of agricultural and manufactured articles at home and abroad; and upon wages, domestic and foreign. The full Committee on Finance consists of Senators Morrill of Vermont, Sherman of Ohio, Jones of Nevada, Allison of Iowa, Aldrich of Rhode Island, Hiscock of New York, Voorhees of Indiana, McPherson of New Jersey, Harris of Tennessee, Vance of North Carolina, and Carlisle of Kentucky. To carry out the instructions of the Senate, a sub-committee, consisting of Senators Aldrich (chairman), Allison of Iowa, Hiscock of New York, Harris of Tennessee, and Carlisle of Kentucky, was selected. Immediately on the adjournment of Congress the sub-committee took up the questions committed to it. The expense of the investigation ordered was to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate. Contrary to the popular idea, this contingent fund, instead of being an inexhaustible fund, is only $25,000, from which the expenses of various committees, for whatever purposes they may be acting, and under various resolutions, must be paid.

The vastness of the duties assigned under the resolution referred to was such that the committee could not organize the independent machinery adequate to the proper carrying-out of the instructions of the Senate. There must be special agents, experts, and a considerable clerical force, in order to make even a beginning in the proposed investigation. The officers of the Department of Labor had for some time been paving the way for an

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investigation covering wages and prices through a long period of years, and they would have undertaken the collection of the statistics necessary for the work the present year. The Finance Committee, after due consideration of the difficulties in the way of carrying out the provision of the Senate resolution, suggested that the Department of Labor coöperate with its sub-committee in a portion of the work assigned to it. This would enable the two forces to carry on, with the combined means at their disposal, and on an adequate basis, some of the various lines of inquiry indicated by the Senate resolution; the result being that the Senate committee would be able to do much more than it could alone, and the Department of Labor would have the coöperation of the Senate Committee, while the results of the investigation would be as much at the disposal of the department as of the committee, and would be used in the ways that the wisdom of each might indicate. So the Department of Labor was intrusted with the collection of statistics desired by the committee in certain directions, while experts in various other directions were employed directly by the committee.

The necessity for such an investigation as that directed by the Senate is apparent. The great debates in Congress and by the press and in the political campaigns, commencing with that upon the Tariff Bill of 1883, which became the act of March 3, 1883, have bristled with statistics. No speaker in or out of Congress, and no writer, seemed to feel that he was in any adequate measure approaching the leading elements of the tariff discussion unless he introduced more or less of tabular statements to back up the theories propounded. The frantic appeals to all statistical offices for tables showing the prices of commodities through a series of years and in different countries, the rates of wages paid in various industries and at different periods, and the cost of production, were generally met with the statement that Congress had not yet provided for the collection of the statistics demanded.

To be sure, Congress had undertaken to meet the great want relative to the cost of production, the cost of living, wages, and the efficiency of labor in great industries at the present time, in the act approved June 13, 1888, to establish a Department of Labor, wherein it was provided that the Commissioner of Labor should ascertain, at as early a date as possible, the cost of producing articles at the time dutiable in the United States in lead-

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ing countries where such articles are produced, by fully specified units of production and under a classification showing the different elements of cost or approximate cost of such articles of production, including the wages paid in such industries, the hours employed, and the comparative cost and the kind of living. This provision of law was immediately carried out by the Commissioner of Labor, and the results on the lines indicated, so far as iron and steel and the cognate industries of ore, coal, coke, and limestone are concerned, have been laid before Congress, while the facts relating to textiles and glass will early in the coming session be transmitted to the President. These facts, supplying one of the great missing links in all debates on the tariff, which have been so freely called for by speakers and writers, will constitute two large volumes, and will answer to a certain extent the necessities of the case; but statistics on wages and prices covering a long period of years, made in such a way that one can ascertain the fluctuations on the same article or in the same occupation, have been wanting.

There have been, it is true, specific and fugitive reports from time to time, emanating from different offices. In the report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1849 there are to be found most valuable tables relating to prices, and so in the finance report of 1863, from the Secretary of the Treasury, are to be found quite elaborate tables showing prices of commodities, while the report of the Director of the Mint for the calendar year 1884 added much to the value of statistics of prices by some extended tables. Various reports from different State bureaus of labor have been used in the debates, but all these reports have been too circumscribed in their extent to offer sufficient lines of figures for a comprehensive study of wages and prices. Mr. Joseph D. Weeks, in the XXth volume of the reports on the Tenth Census, covered an exeedingly wide field relative to wages, cost of living, etc., and this report has been used most freely in the great discussions; but it was not the policy of the officers of the Tenth Census to permit any classification or tabulated statement, so that one wishing to use the valuable data of the report was obliged to pick out here and there specific things, from which a fairly connected statement could be made. In the report of the writer on the factory system, which constituted part of Volume II. of the reports on the Tenth Census, there is considerable valuable

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information relating to wages in textile factories in the country, not only of the present time, but of the past. But all these different statistical volumes, as I have said, offered only fugitive and fragmentary data, for in no case had a complete compilation been made.

Having provided for the statistics relating to cost of production, the efficiency of labor, etc., through the Department of Labor, the Senate felt that a much broader inquiry should be entered upon. So the Finance Committee, under the resolution which has been mentioned, has undertaken to direct the collection of what may justly be called "missing data." The plan of the committee and the scope of its work offer matters of great interest to a wide class of people—to Senators and Representatives, who are called upon to decide in matters of tariff legislation and in the discussion of bills relating to the currency; to speakers, who are undertaking to show the people the truth as they understand it on the two great sides of these questions; to writers, who are considering the same important themes, and also those relating to the social and material welfare of the people, irrespective of legislation on questions of tariff and finance; to reformers, who have solutions to offer for the multitudinous problems arising under what may be called "the labor question," and, in fact, the whole line of economic questions. It will be seen that any plan must be comprehensive, and that any investigation under a comprehensive plan must be minute and searching. The first desire of the committee was, therefore, to so project its work that it could make a unanimous report as to facts. Could this be done, discussion would be simplified. The committee could not, of course, be expected to make a unanimous report, in all cases, relative to causes or results, but it could, perhaps, by judicious work, be able to agree on the facts themselves; and it is a matter of great congratulation that in all the discussions upon methods, upon lines of inquiry, and upon the practical details of the investigation, the members of the sub-committee have worked with complete harmony. Not a thing has been done that has not been the result of unanimous agreement.

The first effort of the committee was to secure the collection of data relative to retail prices in fairly representative centres, meaning by the latter term cities, industrial centres, and country towns; and it determined to collect the prices of the commodities

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that enter into the consumption of the people in seventy places, and for each month from the 1st of June, 1889, to the 1st of September, 1891, inclusive. The articles included in the inquiry were selected by the committee with the view of representing fairly all articles which enter, either directly or indirectly, into the expense of living. For instance, in addition to articles of food and clothing entering directly into the cost of living, they have selected articles of hardware, building materials, etc., which affect, through the cost of building, the cost of rent. In making this list 221 articles were selected. Experts in all directions were consulted as to designations, the effort being to secure such articles and designations of articles as would allow continuous quotations, both as to kind and quality; and while it was not expected that each article designated would be found in each locality selected, it was expected, and the result has satisfied the expectation, that prices would be obtained for *an* article for the whole period which should have a continuous quality.

The field work for this inquiry, comprehending retail prices of articles for the period named and the wages paid in general occupations such as carpentering, masonry, blacksmithing, etc., and the leading factory occupations, or occupations found in great productive works, has been completed. While this incidental work of the committee was going on, it had under consideration the more vital question of the course of prices at wholesale, or, more accurately, the net prices of agents or the prices at first hands of the leading articles of consumption for a long period of years, the period from 1840 to 1891 having been settled upon. Great obstacles at once presented themselves in the collection of the required data in this respect. It was necessary to select articles which could be recognized through this long period, and so manufacturers, wholesale dealers, and experts were called into consultation by the committee. The designation of articles on which quotations are to be secured for a long period is not a simple matter. For instance, a "shovel" in the Eastern States is a "spade" in the Western States, and *vice versâ*; what is meant by this is that the tool called a "shovel," being a short-handled implement, with a square blade and an open place for the hand at the end of the handle, is in the Eastern States called a "shovel," while in many Western localities a long-handled, heart-shaped implement is called a "shovel." This

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simply illustrates the difficulty of designating articles by a term which should be recognized throughout the country and throughout the period settled upon; but, after many sittings and much consultation with experts, the committee finally decided upon a very comprehensive list for wholesale prices, and it then selected experts in the great lines, such as the textiles, iron and steel, paints and chemicals, and a few others, to whom was committed the duty of collecting the statistics. These experts are the best-known men in their various lines, and in this feature alone is shown the wisdom of the committee; it has brought into sympathy with it, and into enthusiastic coöperation, men in the great lines of production and trade. Articles not committed to special experts have been committed to the Department of Labor; so that, with the special agents of the department working along with the experts selected by the sub-committee, there is a force engaged in the collection of prices such as has not before been utilized.

The prices at which farmers sell their leading products—that is, the prices received by the farmer at his farm—constitute a very essential feature of the inquiry relative to prices, and especially when such prices are brought into comparison with the wholesale prices of such articles in the great markets.

Not content with securing prices in this country alone, the committee is seeking, for the short period already named, the retail prices in Great Britain, and it has also undertaken the collection of prices at which the leading articles of import are sold in foreign countries.

Another great branch of the inquiry, and one which was contemplated by the Senate resolution of March 3 last, relates to the wages paid in leading occupations in the great industries of the country, and to salaries in some employments, like those of salesmen and teachers, this inquiry covering also the long period from 1840 to 1891. It would be foolish to attempt to collect on any great scale the rates of wages in occupations and subdivisions of occupations as they are known in the manufacturing industries of to-day. The obstacles in the way of the collection of accurate wage statistics are sufficiently great without burdening the duty with a very great number of subdivided occupations. The introduction of machinery has caused many changes in the designations of occupations and employments. Piece-work, time-work, the carrying-on of special features of production through the employ-

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ment of what are known as "teams" or "gangs," and many other features of modern production, almost discourage any effort at the collection of wage statistics; but the committee has wisely concluded to ascertain the rates of wages in the general trades and in leading occupations in the great productive industries, hoping thereby to determine, on specific and representative things, the course of the rates of wages and the fluctuations therein. Of course the hours of labor, and the proportional weight of the occupations for which wages will be secured to the whole body of employees in a given establishment, constitute important features of inquiry.

The matters referred to are those of original inquiry from first hands. In addition to these, the committee is collecting from the quartermaster-general's bureau of the War Department the prices paid by the government, on well-known standards, for clothing from 1840 to the present time; from the bureau of the commissary-general the prices paid for articles of food; from the surgeon-general's office the prices paid for drugs, etc., and from the bureau of clothing and provisions of the Navy Department the prices paid by that department for clothing and provisions. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs will furnish, for such period as he is able, the prices which have been paid under his direction for the articles contemplated by law for the Indian service.

The Department of Agriculture has consented to take charge of an important part of the investigation, and will furnish, from original sources and collected data, statistics as to wages of farm labor in all portions of the country, and the prices received for the great farm products for half a century. Great houses, trade associations, and others are coöperating most thoroughly with the committee in connection with these great departments of the government.

In addition to all these sources of information, the committee will gather from all reputable reports of the different States of this country and of the United States Government, and from foreign countries, all legitimate statistics relating to prices and wages. It will be seen at once that the results of such a comprehensive inquiry cannot be other than exceedingly valuable, and, properly classified, arranged, and analyzed, will furnish a body of facts on which there can be little or no debate. All these

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data will be examined in the light of the influence of the introduction of new devices and processes in manufacture wherever invention has led to a change in conditions; the introduction of new industries and the time of their introduction, and the demands which led to their establishment being considered in their correlative importance.

After the facts are collected the difficult work of the committee in endeavoring to determine what influence tariff legislation has had upon the results will commence; but it will first ascertain the facts accurately and impartially. It will not deal with the averages in the ordinary way of trade reports on prices in the first instance, but it will utilize the great collections, which are exceedingly valuable in themselves, which have been published from time to time by trade journals. In fact, no source which offers any valuable results will be ignored.

The prices of articles of food, independent of wages paid for labor, would not lead to any very conclusive deductions relative to the cost of living or the consuming power of the people; but, taking both into account, the compensation which labor receives for its efforts and the expense which it must incur for the leading articles of consumption must show, with the other consideration which the committee is giving the subject, the relative conditions of the majority of our population at different periods. Whether and to what extent these conditions have been affected by the tariff legislation since 1840 is a question of philosophical deduction, on which honest men may divide.

It is of the utmost importance at the present time, with the great interest which all people have in economic questions, that the relative comparison of prices of staple commodities and of the earning capacity of the great masses of the population in this and other countries at various dates should be made; but before such comparison can be made there must be the widest collection of data. The committee thoroughly understands the obstacles and difficulties in the way of making such comparisons. It has clearly understood that prices will vary in the same city on several points; that the customs of establishments differ; that large dealers sell on a small margin, and that small dealers, who supply the poorest classes in the community, sell on a large margin; that qualities of goods enter into the whole question, and that differences in make produce incongruities and uncertainties

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in all directions. All these matters are fully understood and have been fully considered, and every effort has been made to overcome the resulting obstacles.

Much misapprehension has existed in the public mind relative to this great statistical investigation by the Senate Finance Committee ; but the public can rest assured that the chief aim of the committee is to secure absolutely impartial results and let the consequences take care of themselves. On this basis its members are, as already remarked, working with entire unanimity, and with every prospect of being able to make a unanimous report so far as the facts are concerned. They have had the benefit of the suggestions of all classes of people, of experts on both sides of the great tariff question, of men interested in the financial legislation of the country, and of those who are studying most philosophically, and with the highest patriotism, measures for the improvement of the condition of the people, and who are making efforts to secure the people's highest prosperity.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

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IS CORPORAL PUNISHMENT DEGRADING?

BY THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S, LONDON.

Is there anything degrading in corporal punishment? There is said to be a feeling that such is the case in America, and there are painful signs of the growth of such an opinion in England. On what does it rest?—on a principle for which authority can be claimed? or upon the results of experience? If it rests upon a principle, that principle must have found expression in some book whose claim to attention and obedience is generally admitted, or else must rest upon that universal sense of the fitting and the right, which is thus eloquently described by Hooker:* "The general and perpetual voice of man is as the sentence of God himself. For what all men have at all times learned, Nature herself must needs have taught, and, God being the author of Nature, her voice is but his instrument. By her from him we receive whatsoever in such wise we learn." Before appealing to our own experience, or the well-authenticated experience of others, it will be well to examine what these two great authorities have to say on the subject.

There is no book which is so universally accepted as an authority on all moral questions as the Bible; and the question of punishment, and the best kind of punishment, is essentially a moral question. I take for granted that all sensible persons, Christian or otherwise, will admit that there are in every child born into the world tendencies to evil that need rooting out, and inclinations towards good that need planting or nurturing. I will therefore first examine what this authority, which Christian people will recognize to be such, has to say on the subject, and then I will turn to that general voice of mankind to which those

*"Ecclesiastical Polity," I., VIII., 3.

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who are not Christian may be more disposed to attach importance. What, then, has the Bible to say?

It is thus that Solomon, in the Book of Proverbs, lays down a general principle on the subject:* "He that spareth his rod hateth his son: but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes." And then in another portion of the same book he gives the reason for this advice:† "Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child; but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him." And then, extending his view to the effect of such punishment on a child's future, he says:‡ "Withhold not correction from the child: for if thou beatest him with the rod, he shall not die. Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from hell." And:§ "The rod and reproof give wisdom: but a child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame." But whilst Solomon gives such unmeasured praise to the use of the rod in the case of children, we have a caution against its excessive use in the punishment of adults, in an earlier book of Holy Scripture.

There is this instruction given by the judges of Israel in the book of Deuteronomy,‖ that, in the event of a controversy arising between men, "if the wicked man be worthy to be beaten, the judge shall cause him to lie down, and be beaten before his face, according to his fault, by a certain number. Forty stripes he may give him, and not exceed: lest, if he should exceed, and beat him above these with many stripes, then thy brother should seem vile unto thee." It is possible that the idea of corporal punishment being degrading may have been drawn from this warning against its abuse. But it is well to note that such punishment is ordered, and therefore must have been approved by the writer; it is only its excessive application that is forbidden. If we turn to the New Testament, we find St. Paul speaking of his own endurance of corporal punishment along with other forms of suffering and trial, without suggesting the idea of an essential difference between them: ¶ "In labors more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned," and so on. And then he seems to regard all such sufferings with a sense of satisfaction, as having endured them all for his Master's sake:** "If I must

* XIII., 24. † XXII., 15. ‡ XXIII., 13, 14. § XXIX., 15. ‖ XXV., 2, 3.
¶ II. Cor., XI., 23-25. ** Ibid, v. 30.

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needs glory, I will glory of the things which concern mine infirmities." And of one greater than St. Paul we are told that he was scourged, and that * "with his stripes we are healed." Whilst I cannot neglect to remind those who are inclined to forget it that in the epistle to the Hebrews † we read: "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth"; and: "What son is he whom the father chasteneth not?"

I turn from the book of authority to that general voice of mankind which speaks with authority. Greece and Rome are the two nations of antiquity to which appeal is ever made for guidance, as from them we learn what the more cultured nations then thought and did. Corporal punishment certainly existed in the schools of Greece, and we do not find any objections raised to it by Greek writers on the score of its being degrading, though Plutarch thinks it might well be dispensed with. In Rome the family bond was stronger than in Greece, and the power of inflicting corporal punishment that was left in the hands of *paterfamilias* was absolute in earlier times, but it was subsequently limited by law. Quintilian finds grievous fault with teachers who are unsparing in the using of the rod to cover their own negligence, and severely censures the abuse of corporal punishment. But he wrote in days when the glories of Rome were departing; and it is worthy of remark that no children treated their parents with greater tenderness and reverence than did those of Rome in the days when the father possessed an unlimited power of punishment. It would be profitless to trace out the use of corporal punishment in the less civilized nations; but the challenge may be boldly given to those who object to such punishment to point out the nation where it was not to be found and where a higher state of morals or more affectionate family relations could be found than in the two great nations just named. The words of Hooker which I quoted at starting were not intended to apply to a universal consensus concerning corporal punishment, but it seems to me that they are as applicable to that as to other matters, and that when we find civilized and uncivilized nations equally adopting the same method for eradicating vices and curing faults in children, we may conclude that it is what Nature suggests as the most effective instrument for the purpose.

* Isaiah, LIII., 5. † XII., 6, 7.

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But we must take care not to assume that such consensus carries us further than it really does. All that I claim for it is that corporal punishment properly administered is not degrading. When applied in excess, I thoroughly accept what is said in Deuteronomy; it may then make our "brother seem vile unto us." Moreover, there can be no doubt that what Quintilian censured in his day is a fault that has existed in most periods of the world's history. The thoughtless, the hasty, the ill-tempered parent or teacher is tempted to make corporal punishment his sole instrument for correcting small faults and grievous moral offences, without taking into account differences of temper or disposition, or taking the trouble to estimate the effect which such chastisement will have upon those subjected to it. In defending corporal punishment I must be understood as defending its use, not its abuse; as approving it when employed after reflection by a judicious parent or instructor, not as practised under the influence of passion or excitement by an angry guardian or teacher.

In examining what light experience can throw on the subject, it may be well to see what influence the two extremes in the method of bringing up children have on their after life and upon their feelings towards the guardians or teachers by whom they have been educated. The two extremes to which I refer are kindness and severity; of course the wisest educator is he who adopts the golden mean, and is so kind as not to destroy a wholesome fear in the child, and so severe as never to diminish its affection. But few people have sufficient wisdom to walk consistently in the golden mean, and consequently in various degrees we find parents and teachers tending systematically towards one or the other extreme. The question is, Which extreme does experience show to be the less dangerous? I fear that I must unhesitatingly give the palm to severity. I wish it were not so. I wish I could believe that the contrary was the case; but I must speak as I have found it.

I remember a dear good friend, one of the most distinguished and excellent men of his day, who could never bring himself to punish his sons, but thought he had sufficiently done his duty when he had remonstrated with them after the commission of any grave fault, whilst lighter offences were passed over without rebuke. Like Eli of old, he would say, "Nay, my sons, for it is no good report that I hear," and there the matter ended. When those sons grew up, nothing was more painful than to witness the indif-

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ference, not to say neglect, with which they treated their illustrious father. It seemed as though they were conscious that faults had been nurtured in them by his excessive tenderness that ought to have been uprooted by severer measures, and that they laid all the blame for this at their father's door, and withheld from him that reverence which they ought to have felt, because he had neglected to uphold his own authority over them and had failed to demand that respect and obedience which it was their duty to render. I do not say that they did feel this, but it seemed to an outsider as though such must be the case. On the other hand, I knew a woman whose widowed mother had brought her up in a manner that seemed to me most harsh and unjust. They were in very poor circumstances, and at times the girl was sent out to gather sticks to light the fire: if the child brought too large a stick, the mother would beat her for having stolen it out of a hedge, without examining into the truth of what she asserted. I give this as a sample of the home discipline. Of all the affectionate children I ever knew that daughter was one of the most remarkable. Her wages were freely given to her mother; there was nothing that she would not do to help her: I believe she would willingly have laid down her life for her. It is only right to say that both mother and daughter were excellent Christian women.

I mention these two cases as extremes, as having excited my wonder and surprise at the time; not as recommending either for imitation. But I must also add that in families where the tendency has been in a less degree to one or the other of these extremes, I have found there have been more reverence and affection, more willingness to make sacrifices for parents, more pleasure in contributing to their pleasure and happiness in after life, where the tendency has been to a severe method of treatment than in cases where the tendency has been towards excessive tenderness and kindness. The ancient Romans to whom I have already referred were examples of the effect of the former method of treatment. I fear it would not be difficult to discover examples of the influence of the latter mode almost anywhere in England or America at the present day.

To turn from the effect of severity in the home to its influence at school, where its abuse has been most marked. The old bad system is thus graphically described by an eminent Scotch judge, who was one of the founders of *The Edinburgh Review*. In an

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unpublished letter written nearly half a century since, he says: "I am not squeamish about corporal punishment for schoolboys. It is unquestionably necessary. But the misfortune is that the master, like a colonel, who resorts to it habitually, naturally neglects and despises all other and better arts of controlling. And it produces a far deeper feeling of mortification and disgust in boys than the habitual user of the leather* is apt to imagine. Sixty years have not even abated my hateful recollections of the high school on this sole account; and I have known many of our good pupils who, after becoming successful men, have implored me to save our academy boys from what they uselessly suffered." With the opinions here expressed I cordially agree, but I cannot refrain from mentioning what fell under my own experience. In a national school over which I had control there was a clever lad who rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the master by being (what is called in school slang) "cheeky." He was consequently flogged frequently and severely. I did more than remonstrate. I forbade such treatment. Years afterwards, when this lad had risen to a position of considerable dignity in the church, I spoke to him sympathetically of his schooldays and the floggings he had received. "Oh," he said at once, "I was not flogged once too often; it did me good." It was evident, therefore, that he did not feel degraded by what he had suffered.

The great Duke of Wellington is reported to have said that he was indebted to the play-fields at Eton for the material which enabled him to conquer Napoleon—in other words, that the physical energy and the moral force of the officers to whom he was largely indebted for his victories were gained in that excellent school. Now, it is certain that corporal punishment was freely employed at Eton. Many, probably most, if not all, of the Duke's officers must have been educated under Dr. Keate, who was notorious for the free use he made of the birch; and it is notorious that these high-spirited, noble men, whose souls would abhor the contact of anything they felt to be degrading, so far from being ashamed of having suffered corporal punishment, made a joke of it and freely talked of it in after life. In reminiscences of Eton by the Rev. C. Allix Wilkinson (an old Eton boy who had seen much of the use of the birch), there are these state-

* In Scotland a leather strap called "the taws" is used for corporal punishment, not a cane or birch rod.

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ments, which confirm what has been just said: "Keate was a great scholar, an elegant poet, a capital teacher, and we must not hold lightly the man who has flogged half the ministers, secretaries, bishops, generals, and dukes of the present century." And then he thus sums up what he has to say on the subject: "Flogging then, on the whole, as we had it at Eton, by the head master alone, in whose mind there could be no element of spite and consequent severity, and with a few twigs of birch applied, as it still is, where it is not pleasant but can do no real harm to any one, I do not hesitate to say I stand up for, let tender mammas and squeamish parents say what they will; and I am quite sure, from intercourse with my grandchildren and other boys, that they had rather the system should be continued, not, as in our time, *flogging for everything, but still flogging with certain restrictions*; they like short, sharp, and all over, better than extra absences, long lessons to learn by heart, or one thousand seven hundred lines to write out." (P. 46.)

I had an amusing proof of this punishment not being thought degrading some years since. I was visiting a late head master of Eton, when he said: "Last week I had a party of my old pupils, officers in the army; after dinner one of them playfully lifted his hand as though using a birch rod. I said, 'Oh no; surely, I never switched you'; to which an immediate response was given, 'Oh yes, you did'; and then all the others joined in chorus, 'And me, too'; upon which they all laughed, and seemed heartily amused," clearly showing that they felt no indignity had been put upon them by what had been done, and that they were all the better friends with the master who had inflicted the punishment. It may also be worth mentioning that it was and probably is still considered at Eton a great mark of moral courage for the boy to cut a chip off the block over which he is hoisted to be switched, whilst he is under punishment, and when he succeeds in doing it he wears the chip attached to his watch chain for the rest of his life as an honorable distinction. Archdeacon Denison, an old Eton boy, is a strong advocate of corporal punishment, and thinks that it does much towards forming a manly and disciplined character. It is thus he speaks of it in his "Notes of My Life" (p. 10): "I suffered at Keate's hands three times: twice for playing tricks in my dame's house, once for bathing at a forbidden hour, or rather, I ought to say and with shame to say it,

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for fibbing to Keate when he caught us just as we returned. We ran and hid, but were ferreted out. Approaching Keate, with my hat off, and my wet towel hanging out of it, I stated to him that it was a mistake to suppose I had been bathing. He looked at me and said nothing, but next morning, as I richly deserved, I suffered heavily."

So far I have been dealing with one side of the question. I have been endeavoring to show that the opinion that corporal punishment is degrading has no solid foundation on which to rest, but that it is merely a piece of nineteenth-century sentimentalism, born of the notion that the greatest evil in the world is bodily pain. There is another side from which to view it, and to that I turn.

I suppose there are few, if any, rational people who will not admit that, human nature being what it is, we must have some kind of punishment both for youths and adults, and that, for punishment to be of any value, it must be something that the person on whom it is to be inflicted will dislike and seek to avoid. In England we have abolished flogging in the army, and experienced military men say that the effect of this will be that in time of war certain offences, which have hitherto been punished by flogging, will be punished by death, as it is impossible to preserve discipline and protect the army from serious peril without severely visiting breaches of discipline and duty, and no other punishment is possible in the field. So with respect to children: if we are to train them up to habits of reverence and respect for guardians and instructors; if we are to instil into them habits of industry and application to studies to which they are disinclined, there must be in reserve some power of compulsion which they will be afraid to invoke, and that power must be punishment. The boy who will say to his father, when threatening to box his ears for being disobedient or impertinent, "If you do, I will summon you before a magistrate," will soon set all parental authority at defiance, if his threat is allowed to prevail, and the natural consequence will be an undisciplined life, estrangement between father and son, probably a vicious youth and a miserable old age. For the sake of the child, of the family, of society, of the country, there must be some deterrent punishment, both at home and at school. The question is, What shall it be? Whatever it is, to make it effective it must be well and wisely administered, with a

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single desire to amend the child, and not under the excitement of anger or irritated feeling. Moreover, it must be proportioned to the offence, and not an indiscriminate application of the same treatment, whether the wrongdoing be great or small,—a casual neglect or thoughtless disobedience that has to be amended, or a serious moral delinquency that has to be cured.

For purposes of discipline there ought, therefore, to be drawn a sharp line between grave offences which denote serious moral obliquity, such as dishonesty, drunkenness, treachery, and such like, in an aggravated form, and offences which spring from a less vicious source. For the less serious kind of wrongdoing, what can be better than suitable corporal punishment? It is sharp and short; it is sufficiently unpleasant to make it disliked; whilst it has the advantage of teaching a boy to bear bodily pain without screaming, as every boy with noble instincts would despise himself for yelling over a little pain in the presence of his companions. It is what brave, high-spirited boys greatly prefer to any other kind of punishment, as it does not interfere with their ordinary sports. I well remember a manly, high-toned boy grumbling to me one day because at his school the master had substituted a task for some strokes over the hand for trifling offences; as he well said, "It interferes with our games, spoils our chance of any enjoyment of our leisure time, and makes us do work in which there is no good." On the other hand, a tame-spirited lad who took no part in games, and only loafed about during holiday time, would find little to annoy him in the work he would have to do, as it would be an excuse for not sharing in games in which he ought to take part, and would nurture the idea that bodily pain was the greatest of evils.

With the increasing luxury of the present day there is special need for what will help to strengthen the moral fibre of the boy, and, by encouraging fortitude under the infliction of bodily pain, nurture true manliness and courage, without which no man can play well his part in life. Moreover, it is well to look at the possible alternatives for corporal punishment. The ordinary one is writing out a number of lines from some Greek, Latin, or English author, perhaps writing some lines over twenty or thirty or more times; and then there is a cunning device of tying several pens together, so as to make one action of the hand multiply itself; or if the boy has money he pays some one to

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do the task for him; or perhaps, instead of an imposition, the boy has to learn a certain number of lines. All such punishments make manly boys who are apt to be disinclined to learning, hate it still more; and if they impel them to avoid the faults which they are intended to cure, it is at the expense of implanting other faults of a different character.

With respect to other transgressions of a more serious character, or vices, as I should prefer to call them, some more serious punishment is needed. They degrade the boy; they lower his moral status; if not checked and uprooted, they will lower his character for life. They need some sterner and severer punishment; something that is felt to be degrading; something from which whatever of true nobility there is in the boy will revolt. I object to corporal punishment being employed as the remedy for such offences. I think it degrades such punishment, and makes it less applicable for purposes where it would be useful. And if it be said that in such cases it might be much more severe, then I object to it because it savors of cruelty, and so might harden the youth on whom it is inflicted. I should greatly prefer expulsion from the school or college, with every circumstance that could tend to make such a punishment felt to be degrading. It would then be a crisis in the boy's life; the sentence would be dreaded as something injurious to, if not destructive of, his future career, and if there was any good in him it would be aroused to make a serious effort to regain the position he had lost, whilst if there was no good in him a stigma would be fixed on him which would preserve others from being injured by him.

In England there is an excellent regulation for admission into the position of an officer in the army. "A certificate of good moral character must be produced, signed by the tutors or heads of the schools or colleges at which he has received his education for the four years immediately preceding the date of application; or some other satisfactory proof of good moral character." And I believe there is the same requirement for the navy. Expulsion from school or college for a grave moral offence therefore disqualifies a boy from serving the Queen in either of these distinguished professions. Such a punishment is degrading, and is felt to be such. But it is the offence which degrades; not the mere imposition of the punishment which proclaims the fact of the degradation to others. And as our lower nature is apt to

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think more of the loss of dignity or position in the eyes of others than it does of the wrongdoing for which the punishment is inflicted, it becomes effective in bringing home to the mind of the transgressor the abhorrence in which society holds the vice or the crime of which he has been guilty.

I have mentioned one way in which in England a punishment that is meant to be degrading is inflicted; but every nation must have its own method of providing such a protection for the well-being of its people, and it is necessary that such punishments should be adapted to the differing habits and feelings of the various classes and grades of society of whom a nation is made up. For it is obvious that what would be felt as degrading by a highly-educated and cultivated man would have no such effect upon an uncultured, coarse, or rough-natured person.

Looking upon punishment, therefore, as designed to correct faults, to preserve the authority of superiors, to eradicate tendencies to vice, and to assist in implanting habits of industry and virtue in children otherwise inclined, I believe that no form of it is better adapted to its purpose than that which Solomon recommends and all nations have adopted. I only regret that its abuse has given too much ground for protests against its use, and I gladly raise my voice in favor of its wise and judicious application.

ROBERT GREGORY.

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ITALY AND THE POPE.

BY EX-PRIME-MINISTER CRISPI.

PART II.

COUNT CAVOUR was convinced that he would succeed in his negotiations with the Vatican. General Lamarmora, as appears from a letter of his of February 17, 1861, said as much to the cabinet of Berlin, which then took a great interest in these grave questions. He said :

"M. de Schleinitz asked me,' How will you get through with Rome?' I answered that Count Cavour had not lost his hope of settling this grave question in time; that, as he had said to the Chamber, he thought it possible that the Pope might remain at Rome together with the King of Italy."*

Pius IX. was easily irritated, but, as he was of a gentle disposition, he wished to free himself from the subjection in which he had been politically kept by Napoleon III. He was weary of the French troops; he was displeased with their much too libertine customs; he desired a solution which should get him rid of the foreign powers, and he had several times, in order to show this, written to the Emperor and spoken to the French ambassador. I have under my eyes at this time an autograph letter which the Pope ordered Cardinal Antonelli to send to the Duke Gramont. I give the text of it :

"After the understanding had with the predecessor of the present ambassador of France, in regard to the evacuation of Rome by the foreign troops; after the conference at Paris in 1856, in which consideration was had of the pretended abnormal condition of the pontifical states on account of the presence in those states of those troops, which ought to have been recalled, and, in fact, were not, and this not through any request made in our behalf, but solely by the will of one who chose to leave them here against the opinion of

* "Letters of Cavour," Vol. VI., p. 187.

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the conference; after my letter written to His Majesty the Emperor of the French in August, 1857, which has remained entirely without reply in regard to that part which referred to the troops; after the understanding which at this very time has been had by the Cardinal Secretary of State with the ambassador as to the considerations submitted by me touching the total evacuation by the aforesaid troops of both parts of the Apennines,—it could never have been imagined that a treaty would have been submitted to me of a sort which no honest man can properly describe about sending reënforcements, as I this moment learn. This fact must be made known by me to the whole world, and with it should be communicated to the ambassador my most lively displeasure, and he must undertake to see that these reënforcements, which are on their way, are stopped at Civita Vecchia, whence they can with less trouble return as soon as possible to France. The ambassador should be told that I speak, and will speak publicly, as a duty of my conscience."

The negotiations of February, 1861, went on slowly and with difficulty. In order to smooth away the obstacles which arose, Padre Passaglia went to Turin, and left it again after he came to an agreement with the ministers about the articles which were to serve as a basis for the settlement. On his return to Rome he found things in a good condition, and if the propositions and the credentials promised by Count Cavour had come quickly, perhaps something would have been obtained; but these were received after twenty days' delay, and when it was too late.

One day—it was in the month of March—the prelates who were accustomed to confer with Pius IX. in regard to Italian questions, found him very much irritated. Bertelli was terrified by this, but Cardinal Santucci was not; he, on the contrary, wished to hurry things on, and to reach a conclusion. All was useless. On the 31st of March Pantaleoni was expelled, and Passaglia, after trying to renew the negotiation, lost all hope of bringing it to a successful end.

What were the reasons of this change of front at the Vatican? There were several. In the three months during which proposals of harmony were discussed, the secret had not been kept. Antonelli imputed this to the Italian negotiators; Cavour imputed it to some prelate who, for official reasons, might have had knowledge of them.* What is certain is that the Jesuit party, learning of these negotiations, worked hard and with great skill to frighten Pius IX. They told him that the Piedmontese minister was not

* Antonino Isaia's "Negotiations between Count Cavour and Cardinal Antonelli for the Surrender of the Temporal Power of the Pope," pp. 29, 30.

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sincere, that he would not keep his agreement, and that he, the Pope, would find himself entangled as was Pius VII. with Napoleon I. To strengthen his suspicions they recalled to him the laws published in Umbria and in the Marches for the suppression of the religious corporations, and the decrees, hostile to the church, issued by the lieutenant of the King in the kingdom of Naples. To this was added the insidious and continued action on the Pope of the King and Queen of Naples, whom Count Cavour at Paris had unsuccessfully endeavored to have expelled from Rome. Francis II. was treated as the legitimate King of the Two Sicilies by General Goyon, who even had the French troops reviewed before his Neapolitan Majesty.* Finally, we must remember that the solution of the problem, as proposed by Cavour and listened to by the pontifical curia, was unwelcome at Paris.†

Conciliation between the two powers would have taken away every reason for his interference and influence in Italy from Napoleon III., who would have been obliged, without any compensation, to recall his troops.

"The Emperor," as Prince Napoleon wrote to Cavour, "who has occupied it for twelve years, does not wish that the evacuation of that city shall wear the appearance of a defeat of his policy or of a retreat before the unity of Italy, which has been accomplished contrary to his plans."

Prince Napoleon proposed, in the name of his cousin, articles of a treaty which were afterwards incorporated in the convention of September, and he added :

"The Emperor will remain before public opinion in Europe within the programme which he has drawn up—that is, to maintain the temporal power of the Pope at Rome and in the patrimony of St. Peter."

In simple truth, I do not wish to utter a word of blame against Cavour for the manner in which he bore himself in these negotiations with the Vatican; but it is clear from his letters that he made the mistake in good faith of putting the Emperor entirely out of the question in this delicate argument. It was on the 26th of September, 1860, that he thought it necessary to open his mind to Napoleon III., from whom he expected friendly support.

"The Emperor," he wrote to Dr. Pantaleoni, "earnestly desires an agreement between the King and the Pope,—an agreement which will permit him to withdraw his troops from Rome; but his ideas in regard to the terms of such an agreement are not yet very clearly fixed. The knowledge

* "Letters of Cavour," Vol. IV., p. 211. † Ibid, pp. 211, 212.

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of our project, I hope, will assist to bring him into our way of thinking; and in that case we may count upon a new element of success." *

Count Cavour, in the same conviction, wrote to Vimercati, his agent at Paris, on the 13th of January, 1861, in these terms:

"Teccio† sends word that when the Pope asked from Cardinal Santucci the project of agreement, notwithstanding the counsel of Pantaleoni, he thought he ought to communicate to him our ideas. His Holiness did not positively reject them. The Pope sent for Cardinal Antonelli, who, after having opposed them, finally agreed to examine the question from the point of view of the complete surrender of the temporal power. They had on Friday a conference with Padre Passaglia.

"Make this all known to the Emperor, and also that we do not wish to involve him in negotiations which may be absolutely contrary to his calculations."‡

The man of the 2d of December, always a man of dissimulation and faithlessness, could not change his nature. What he wanted was obvious, and I have mentioned it above in referring to the language of Prince Napoleon. From the Tuileries, on the 15th of January, 1861, a reply came to the despatch of Cavour, in which the Emperor wished good success to his treaty, but had very little hope of seeing it come to a successful end. Meantime he was really intriguing, and the real cause of his doubtful predictions appears from the story told by Abbé Isaia in his little work. Cardinal Antonelli kept the secret during the negotiations, and to every inquiry which was made by others he replied by absolutely denying that there were any negotiations at all between Italy and the Vatican. He wanted to protect himself by diplomacy until the convention should be absolutely signed. His design failed, and it is clear that the mischief was done by the imprudence of the cabinet at Turin and by the deliberate hostility of Paris. It is well to observe that the Triple Alliance did not exist, and that France, politically and militarily, had no reason to suspect Italy. Here is the story of Abbé Isaia:

"How this happened we were utterly ignorant, but the fact is that the Duke Gramont, the ambassador of France, being interrogated by his government as to whether any kind of agreement was going on at Rome between the Holy See and the Italian Government, for his part answered with an absolute negative. One fine day, being informed by his own government of the negotiations, and the point which they had reached, he ap-

* "Letters of Cavour," Vol. IV., p. 137.

† Teccio was a diplomatic agent who had remained in Rome after the rupture of the relations of the King with Santucci.

‡ "Letters of Cavour," Vol. IV., p. 150.

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peared both indignant and confused in the presence of the cardinal secretary, almost in a tone of reprobation accusing him of something like an intention of entering into formal treaties with the Italian Government without having informed the representatives of the French government, which, nevertheless, had shown itself so interested to protect the interests of the Holy See. Not knowing exactly what to say, the cardinal secretary positively denied everything, protesting at the same time that he had never even touched any such matter.

"The French ambassador appeared to be satisfied with the reply, and the thing then had no further consequences between the cardinal and the Duke Gramont; but very different was it as far as concerned Cardinal Santucci and the Cardinal Secretary of State. He showed great dissatisfaction at finding that the thing had been spoiled in its very inception. It is sad to see how the great minister had deceived himself and how he expected the completion of his designs from the help of the person who was the most formidable obstacle to them."

On the 22d of February, 1861, after he had sent the papers to Passaglia, he wrote to one of his friends:

"The Emperor has been informed of all. He takes the most lively interest in this negotiation, and makes Connau explicitly declare that he will be most delighted with this agreement, which will put him at liberty to withdraw the French troops from Rome. He offers to put his own private machinery of influence at work upon Antonelli to assist us in our labors."

And some days later, on the 3d of March, 1861,—that is, when the opposition at Rome was most active,—Cavour, full of confidence, wrote to Senator Pietri:

"By giving the Roman question the legitimate solution Rome and Italy expect, the Emperor does more for us than if he delivered us entirely from the Germans." *

The negotiations between Italy and the Holy See were peremptorily broken off; and no wonder that they were; nor is it necessary to look for the author of this rupture elsewhere than at Paris. The reaction came out of the matter victorious, and began its persecution at once of those who had undertaken to further the settlement. Passaglia and Isaia were obliged to leave Rome, and later on Cardinal d'Andrea was compelled to retire to Naples.

I have said already, in referring to a letter of Prince Napoleon, what the propositions of the Emperor were for the solution of the disagreement with the Pope. Cavour was not satisfied with them, but he was obliged to give a reply because the agreement between the Holy See and Paris was made a condition of the recognition of the new kingdom. Whilst the recognition was made by

* "Letters of Cavour," Vol. IV., p. 185.

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London unconditionally and with true disinterestedness five days after the Parliament had proclaimed Victor Emmanuel King of Italy, the cabinet of the Tuileries, cavilling, sought for means of opposition.

Count Cavour replied on the 17th to the letter of the 14th of April, accepting the conditions which were imposed upon him. He made only two additions, with which he hoped that he might save the dignity of his government.

"At the same time," he writes, "I will allow myself to indicate two points which appear to me of the highest importance. In the first place, the recognition of the kingdom of Italy ought to take place on the very day of the signature of the treaty. For this purpose we will arm the personage who is to sign the treaty with credentials which he can immediately lay before the Emperor. This mission will be so much more solemn in character that its object will be special and not temporary. In the second place, without engaging itself to give us direct assistance, France may promise us its good offices to bring the Pope to consent to a final agreement with Italy in harmony with the principles which Cardinal Santucci and Father Passaglia have submitted to Cardinal Antonelli. This clause would have the immense advantage of making the court of Rome more prudent and the Roman people more patient. I do not doubt that secrecy will be kept as well at Paris as at Turin; but it appears to me essential not to take Gramont into our confidence. He is not always sufficiently on his guard towards Cardinal Antonelli, who excels in the art of penetrating the real intentions of diplomats with whom he has to deal." *

Count Cavour did not disguise from himself the importance of the act he was about to perform, and the deplorable impression it would make on the Italian people. He wrote to Passaglia on the 27th of May, six days before his death, that the treaty he was agreeing upon with France would be essentially transitory, that it would not pledge the future; but, fearing the indignation of Garibaldi, he asked the help of the Garibaldian agent, who was to be told.

"I am about accomplishing an act which will make me the most unpopular man in Italy for a certain time. This act I shall accomplish, for it is the only way to settle a very great difficulty. I shall conclude with France a convention under which France will withdraw her troops from Rome. On my part I shall engage to protect the papal frontier, and not to permit the revolution to enter those states. Be ready, I beg you, for in a few days, when the treaty is concluded, I shall ask you to go and see General Garibaldi. You will have to make him understand the imperious necessity which obliges me to undergo this convention." †

Death on the 2d of June, 1861, removed Count Cavour, and prevented him from concluding the convention which he would

* "Letters of Cavour," Vol VI., p. 703. † Ibid.

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have "undergone" in the hope of soon freeing himself from it, and not as a definitive act.

The negotiations with the Emperor were undertaken again by Baron Ricasoli, but with no result. Interrupted by various motives during the ministry of Rattazzi, who certainly desired to get rid of the Roman question which brought him to the catastrophe of Aspromonte, the dolorous heritage fell to the ministry of Minghetti, and everybody knows how the convention of September, 1864, which guaranteed Rome to the Pope, caused Minghetti the utmost pain and disgust, because he had to undergo not only the bitter censure of his adversaries, but also the desertion of his political friends.

The Emperor meanwhile could not maintain his ill humor against the cabinet of Turin, and, as Cavour himself has written to Prince Napoleon, in a letter already referred to, a perfect reconciliation between Italy and France was necessary in order that the enemies of the two governments might not take advantage of the uncertain condition in which their official relations were. Therefore, on the 15th of June, 1861, the minister, Thouvenel, by order of his chief, wrote that he recognized the new kingdom, but with such and so many protests as to things which had happened the year before, and with so many reservations for the future, that his letter appeared to be rather an act of politeness than an adhesion to the new monarchy. As to the Roman question, its declarations were more explicit. Thouvenel wrote :

"The cabinet of Turin will take account of the duties which our position towards the Holy See imposes upon us, and I should think it superfluous to add that in establishing our official relations with the Italian Government we shall in no wise weaken or diminish the value of the protests which have been issued by the court of Rome against the invasion of several provinces of the pontifical states. The government of King Victor Emmanuel cannot wish any more than we do to contest or lose sight of all the considerations of many kinds which affect the Roman question and necessarily dominate our resolution, and the Italian Government will understand that, in recognizing the King of Italy, we must continue to occupy Rome so long as sufficient guarantees do not cover the interests which took us to Rome."

Baron Ricasoli replied, not perhaps with the high spirit which belonged to his own character, in a manner to protect the national rights over Rome :

"Our wish is to restore to Italy her glorious capital, but our intention is to take nothing away from the grandeur of the church or the independence

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of the august head of the Catholic religion. Consequently it gives us pleasure to hope that the Emperor, within some little time, will be able to recall his troops from Rome without thereby causing in the minds of sincere Catholics any apprehensions which we should be the first to regret. The interests of France herself, we are convinced, will determine the French Government to take this step, leaving it to the high wisdom of the Emperor to appreciate the proper moment at which Rome may be left without danger to herself. We shall always make it our duty to facilitate this solution, and we hope that the French Government will not refuse us its good offices to bring the court of Rome to accept an agreement which will be fertile in fortunate consequences for the future of religion as well as for the fate of Italy."

The Roman question, since 1861, has been the incubus of all Italian governments, and, thanks to the opposition kept up from Paris, it was one cause of the odium against Napoleon III. The convention of September, 1864, embittered the popular mind by the unjust clauses it contained and by the violent way in which it was executed in the removal of the capital from Turin to Florence. The French troops went out of the eternal city, but they went back again after Mentana. The conflict between the Garibaldians and the imperial troops in November, 1867, the executions which took place at Rome, and the arrest of Garibaldi increased the aversion of our people to France and their contempt for the Pope. Remembering Italian enthusiasm for the victor of Magenta and Solferino, and the brilliant hopes of 1859, we may see what and how great must have been the concert of curses against the Emperor, who, protecting with the bayonet the sacerdotal power which had reërected the guillotine, prevented the settlement of our national union.

Unity for Italy is a guarantee of her life, and unity without Rome cannot be secured. The pope-king in the centre of the peninsula was a permanent danger to the public peace. He was always an element of discord, because in all times, through his temporal interests, he brought foreign arms into the country to the injury of the nation. The English envoy, Paget, writing to Lord Granville, declared that the pontifical court was the centre of the conspiracies of the revolutionary party, which at the first occasion would have taken up arms against the Italian monarchy.* Now, this state of things could not be tolerated. In 1869 the cabinet of Vienna, having made the withdrawal of the French garrisons from the cities of the holy church the basis of an

* "Archives Diplomatiques," 1874.

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agreement, the cabinet of Paris refused this, and thereupon the alliance between Austria, France, and Italy, which had been proposed by Count Beust, became impossible.

The senseless war which Napoleon provoked in 1870, and which was a disaster for him and for his country, opened the way to Rome and compelled the cabinet of Lanza to attempt the solution of the difficulty between the King of Italy and the Pope. Count Ponza di San Martino was sent to Pius IX. to invite him to an agreement, but the envoy of Victor Emmanuel was not listened to. In 1861 Count Cavour had contented himself with a royal vicariate in perpetuity over the states of the Holy See. In 1870 Visconti Venosta did not completely settle the problem of the temporal power, but proposed that it should be limited to the Leonine City. Neither vicariate nor Leonine City would be accepted. Pius IX. was inflexible in his *non possumus*. General Cadorna, at the head of his troops, settled the question with the cannon. The note of Visconti Venosta, addressed to all the powers, on the 29th of August, 1870, remains as a political monument in the annals of Italian national life. After explaining the efforts made for an agreement with the Vatican from 1860 onward, this letter ends by pointing out the following articles:

CONDITIONS WHICH ITALY HAD MADE FOR THE HOLY SEE.

To the Pope, his dignity inviolable and all the other prerogatives of sovereigns, and, furthermore, precedence of the King and of all other sovereigns according to custom.

To the cardinals of the Roman Church, the title of princes, with all that the title implies. The Leonine City will be under the full jurisdiction and sovereignty of the Pope.

The Italian Government guarantees within its territory, first, full liberty of communication between the pontiff and other states, clergy, and foreign peoples; second, the diplomatic immunity of the pontifical legates and nuncios with foreign powers and of foreign nuncios with the Holy See.

All the institutions, offices, and ecclesiastical bodies to be preserved and with their administration in Rome.

All the ecclesiastical properties, the rents of which are appropriated to the churches, offices, corporations, institutions, and ecclesiastical bodies established at Rome and in the Leonine City, to be preserved without being subjected to any special taxes.

The government shall not concern itself with the internal discipline of the ecclesiastical bodies in Rome.

The bishops and the curates of the kingdom, in their dioceses and in their parishes, to be free from any action of the government in the exercise of their spiritual ministry.

The King to renounce in favor of the church every right of royal patronage, every ecclesiastical benefice, lesser or greater, in the city of Rome.

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The constitution for the Holy See and for the Holy College of a fixed donation, not to be diminished, of a value not inferior to that which was appropriated in the budget of the pontifical states.

All the employees, civil and military, of the pontifical states, if Italian subjects, to be protected in their grade, their stipends, and their relative rank.

The aforesaid articles shall be deemed as a bilateral public contract, and shall be the subject of international agreement with all the powers which have Catholic subjects."*

These conditions were more than absurd, and their author can only be excused because he hoped that they would be accepted by the Vatican, and that the use of force would thereby be avoided to secure the occupation of the pontifical territory. The reader will observe, above all, that the civil power of the Pope was admitted, only the exercise of it being restricted. Now, if the principle is admitted, the application was certain, because it gave the Holy See the right to reclaim in the future the restitution of the provinces which had been taken from it. The vice of the institution we have destroyed consisted in this—in the confusion of the two dominions, temporal and spiritual. The prince who claims to represent God upon the earth, who is infallible in his acts, beyond control, can only be an absolute sovereign. Now, no one has a right to condemn a people to slavery; and to take the Leonine City out of the sovereignty of Italy was an offence against the national sovereignty. The population of the Leonine City protested against this injustice, and on the 2d of October, 1870, contrary to the wishes of the government, they also desired a plebiscitum of union with the Italian monarchy. More grave and full of danger was the proposition that the pontifical guarantees might be made the subject of an international treaty. Such a condition Cavour himself refused in 1861, because it would give rise to pretexts for interventions. The question of the powers of the Pope, the existence even of the papacy, would then not be questions of Italian interest nor subjects of Italian public law, but matters for examination and judgment by foreign powers. The independence of Italy would have been compromised by this. There were those who regarded the expedition of General Cadorna as a violation of the convention of September 16, 1864. There was no such violation, because that convention was not executed by France; and if it had been faithfully

* "Archives Diplomatiques," 1874, pp. 2, 37, 38.

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executed by France, no international agreement is valid when it offends the imprescriptible, eternal right of a people to its liberty.

The convention of September permitted the Pope to have an army, but it did not give the right to France to keep her soldiers at Rome, because, in that case, the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome would have been a delusion and a deceit. At Mentana we discovered that the legion of Antibes was composed of imperial recruits, whose services to the Pope were paid as services rendered to the French Empire. It is singular that on the dead bodies were found livrets of French regiments, to which every one of these men belonged, with the number of his matriculation, and with the formula of the oath of fidelity to the Emperor. Visconti Venosta, in his note before cited, explained that the pontifical army, in the way in which it had been constituted, represented a real foreign intervention, and that this was contrary to the spirit of the agreement with France. It was not a question of troops who were to receive their mission to preserve public order, nor limited by that object, but of an organized force which had assumed the character of an army of the reaction, of a military body destined to a new crusade in the interests of the Pope.*

On the 6th of September, 1874, in a conversation of Jules Favre with Count Nigra, the French minister frankly replied in this fashion to the Italian ambassador, "The convention of September 15th is very dead,"† and M. Senard, *chargé d'affaires* of the French Republic at Florence, wrote on the 22d of the same month of that same year to King Victor Emmanuel, expressing the same sentiments. He said:

"The convention of September 15 has virtually ceased to exist, and we have to thank your Majesty for having chosen to understand this and to appreciate the thought which alone has prevented official denunciation of a treaty which, on both sides, had come to nothing."‡

Cardinal Antonelli asked for the help of the Catholic powers, but no one replied conformably to his wishes. The idea of an international conference for the regulation of the position of the Pope towards the King of Italy was expressed by Gladstone on January 31, 1871. It was taken up by Count Beust, and it was not refused by Visconti Venosta. Jules Favre, in an open manifesto against the temporal power, thought such a conference

* "Archives Diplomatiques," 1874, pp. 2, 24. † Ibid, p. 39. ‡ Ibid, p. 95.

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full of danger. Antonelli said in a note of his that the Holy See would never have consented to it.

The Pope, in the midst of all these troubles, comforted himself by directing a brief to the company of Jesuits, in which he bitterly censured the acts of the sub-alpine government.* Before the Italian ministry had transported itself to Rome, it appealed to the Parliament to abrogate the law intended to establish the prerogative of the sovereign pontiff and to establish and regulate the relations of the state with the church. The temporal power was completely abolished, and, in consequence, the Leonine City was not excluded from the benefits of this law, nor did any one have the idea of making the concessions made to the chief of the Catholic Church the subject of an international agreement. For the other clauses of the law the lines were followed of the note addressed to foreign powers on August 29, 1870. The proposed law, long debated in the two Chambers, became a statute on May 13, 1871. The governments which for twenty years have succeeded each other in Italy considered it a debt of honor to execute this law religiously. The Pope has never recognized it. In an encyclical of May 15, 1891, Pius IX. protested, declaring that, for the exercise of his spiritual functions, he had need of his temporal power.

The law of the 13th of May, 1871, gave the Roman Church more prerogatives and more liberty than exist for any other form of worship in any civilized state in the world. The Pope was fortified in his spiritual citadel, and no one can materially assail him. He can strike at the mighty, but no one has the means or the force to strike at him. When the Pope was a temporal prince, an ironclad at Civita Vecchia or an army of invasion on the frontiers of his territory might have compelled him to surrender to the exigencies of a foreign state. To-day this is no longer possible, and Pius IX., by the conditions of invulnerability which were established for him by the Italian Parliament, proved his omnipotence in the strife which he sustained against the Emperor of Germany during the course of nine years. The Emperor William had shown himself openly, from the beginning, an enemy of the temporal power of the Pope, and he was not turned from his position by the clergy of Posen, who, with the archbishop at their head, went to beg the old monarch to intercede for Pius IX.

* "Archives Diplomatiques," 1874, p. 217.

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The difficulties between the imperial government and the episcopacy increased with the new secularization laws, and Bismarck had to expel the Jesuits, who, he was satisfied, were fomenting revolution. In Saxony, in Hesse, the bishops pronounced for the Pope and against the Emperor. Several of them were arrested and the income of the parishes taken away. The clergy in 1874 refused to celebrate the anniversary of Sedan, declaring that this brought to mind a victory against the Holy See. Pius IX., who, having written to the Emperor, had not been able to get any modification in the ecclesiastical legislation of Germany, on the 3d of February, 1875, promulgated an encyclical by which he obliged the bishops and the archbishop to protest in their strife against the civil power.

Peace between the church and the empire was finally made in 1878, with some concessions favorable to the clergy and with the reëstablishment of the present legation near the Vatican.

The law of the 3d of May, 1871, provides that the Pope shall confine himself to his spiritual mission and that he shall abandon temporal interests, and assures to him inviolability of his person, territorial immunity, liberty of speech and of the pen, absolute right of communication with the Catholic world, the power to summon councils, if the conditions were conscientiously observed. But time has proved the contrary. The Pope conspires for the restoration of the temporal power. His restoration becomes a danger for the government where he resides. To-day this danger has become greater since the evolution of Leo XIII. towards the republic. This change of policy cannot pass unobserved, and the dynasties of the old continent would do well to take notice of it. In France, among the priests, many have become adherents of the republic, and the evolution will be efficacious and go on increasing among their ranks, because we must remember that in that country the clergy are an official body. This is the political apostleship of republicanism which began with Cardinal Lavigerie, who, as its pretentious champion, threatens all the states of Europe. It is an enemy of terrible force, much more formidable because its effects are not immediately perceptible.

The new ecclesiastical public law does not satisfy the Pope; but in time it may develop most serious consequences for the King of Italy. It does not satisfy the Pope, because he does not

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consider himself free when he is not master, and he gives it to be believed that the state is oppressing him when it does not obey him. The Catholic priest is never satisfied with what is given to him; every concession is always beneath what he desires, and his exactions grow in exact proportion to the benefits he obtains. It may be of the most serious consequence to the King of Italy that this public ecclesiastical law exists, because in the territory of the monarchy, in the capital of the kingdom, he is confronted with the pretender. Fortunately for us, Leo XIII. has no followers in our country; the people will never take up arms for him. But he has many lines of action. The confessional and the pulpit disturb the masses, trouble the consciences of the people, and breed disorder in moments of war. This gives me no trouble for the future of our country, which is strong enough to defend herself against all internal enemies; but the work of the Pope may result in crippling our action in the case of a foreign aggression.

In matters of religion I recognize only three logical formulas—the Oriental orthodox, the Roman Catholic, and the American formulas. The Oriental Church is dependent upon the prince, who is at one and the same time head of the church and temporal king. The American Church has for its chief a magistrate, who acts as bishop and as king. In the powerful American nation, the profession and the free exercise of all religious beliefs, and of all forms of worship, with preëminence granted to none, are permitted; liberty of conscience is guaranteed which does not degenerate into license, and the public peace and security are protected. The Oriental religion is Roman Catholicism, with the formulas of despotism and intolerance; the American is the formula of liberty.

Italy in 1871 adopted a system which does not embrace either of these three formulas. It keeps alive a struggle which may lead to a crisis unless we shall see the papacy conferred upon an evangelical man, who, renouncing the civil advantages of this religion, will occupy himself wholly with his spiritual functions. This is what all honest men desire for the good of the state and of the church.

CRISPI.

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RAILWAY RATES.

BY GENERAL HORACE PORTER.

As THE physician feels the pulse of the patient to ascertain the state of his health, so the public looks to the rates to judge of the condition of the railways.

The constant reduction in charges which in this country has continued through a long series of years is the most noticeable feature of the railway situation. The average passenger rate per mile has fallen from over 3 cents in 1870 to 2.12 cents in 1890. The average freight rate per ton per mile has fallen in the same period from over 2 cents to .93 of a cent.

We can form a more intelligent idea of the extremely low figures which the rates in America have reached by comparing them with those of other countries. The following table furnishes a comparison as to passenger rates:

	First-class.	Second-class.	Third-class.
	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.
United Kingdom	4.42	3.20	1.94
France	3.86	2.88	2.08
Germany	3.10	2.32	1.54
United States	2.12	....	....

The figures given for the European countries are the regular schedule rates; the average of all the fares received, including reduced fares at excursion rates, would make the figures somewhat less. The rate named as the average first-class fare of railways in the United States is, strictly speaking, the average earnings per passenger per mile, and includes all classes; but as the first-class passengers constitute about 99 per cent. of the travel, the rate given does not differ materially from the actual first-class fare.

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When we take into consideration the excursion and the commutation rates, we find first-class passengers carried as low as half a cent a mile.

The freight rates in the United States are, in general terms, only five-eighths of those charged on the continent of Europe and a little less than one-half of those which prevail in Great Britain. But it will be seen that in reality our charges are relatively even lower than stated by the above figures, when we consider that in the passenger service vastly superior accommodations are furnished in the way of heating, lighting, ventilation, ice-water, lavatories, and free carriage of baggage; and that in the transportation of merchandise greater advantages are afforded by running freight trains at higher speed, making longer hauls without breaking bulk, and allowing cars to remain a greater length of time in the hands of shippers for loading and unloading; there being usually employed from the latter cause from 20 to 25 per cent. more cars than would be necessary for the strict hauling of the traffic.

In this connection we must also recollect that the cost of fuel, wages, and all construction material is considerably higher here than in Europe, while the population from which the railways derive their support is much more sparse; the United States having 166,000 miles of railway with a population of 63,000,000, while Europe has only 135,000 miles with a population of 335,000,000.

When we consider the significant fact that for many years the improved equipment and higher speed of trains have entailed a steady increase in expense, the wages of the employees have been advanced, and the land required for additional sidings, terminals, and extensions has risen incalculably in price, while at the same time rates have undergone a continual reduction, the mind is naturally directed to an inquiry as to the cause.

Over-production, the potent factor in the reduction of profits in all business, has made itself felt in the multiplication of competing railways, and the opening-up of water-ways. Besides this, some of the traffic will not bear a remunerative rate, such as low-priced crop products, lean ores, etc., which have to be hauled a long distance to reach a market.

The legislatures of several of the States have enacted laws to effect a reduction of rates, the literal obedience to some of which would amount to the practical confiscation of railway property.

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They have not confined themselves to the exercise of direct legislative action, as the immediate representatives of the people, but have resorted to the pernicious practice of delegating the extraordinary power to fix rates to commissions composed of a few individuals. What is known as the "Granger" warfare against railways began in several States as early as 1873. In the year 1887 Congress enacted the Inter-State-Commerce Law. Some of its provisions, such as those requiring the publication of open tariffs, which cannot be changed without due notice, prohibiting the issuing of passes, and prescribing penalties for discriminations to shippers, strike at acknowledged evils in railway management, and commend themselves to all good citizens; but in other respects the law imposes so many unreasonable requirements and restrictions that it virtually deprives the railways of the few means which had been left to them of maintaining remunerative rates. Principal among these are what is known as the "long- and short-haul clause," which prohibits railway companies from receiving any greater compensation in the aggregate for a shorter than for a longer haul over the same line in the same direction, the shorter being included within the longer distance; and the anti-pooling clause, which prevents railway companies from entering into any agreements with each other for an apportionment of joint earnings.

Like the law once passed by Congress to regulate the price of gold in the public market, and like all efforts to substitute legislative enactments for nature's great law of supply and demand, the tendency has been largely in the direction of defeating the very objects for which the Inter-State-Commerce Law was ostensibly enacted. One purpose was to prevent combinations on the part of railways; but the impossibility of reaching any harmony between the companies through coöperative measures, dictated by the natural laws of business, is gradually forcing them into joint ownerships and formidable consolidations. Another alleged object was to unify the methods of doing business among the various roads, to secure open and uniform rates, and to prevent the more powerful lines from becoming monopolies; but the attempt to fit them all to a Procrustean bed—to require them to be operated under the terms of the same law, regardless of their different conditions and circumstances—is having the effect of making the rich roads richer and the poor poorer.

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To illustrate this, take the case of two parallel roads between competitive points; one having low grades, light curves, no water competition at local points, an abundance of coal upon its line, well-located terminals, and a large patronage; the other having heavy grades, sharp curves, water competition at local points, no coal along its line, inconvenient terminals, and a small patronage. The same rates and conditions applied to both may enrich the one and bankrupt the other. Before the passage of the congressional law the first line was able to divide a portion of its business or its earnings with the second line and to insure it a living, as a consideration for maintaining remunerative rates. At present the only available means of assisting the poor line is by allowing it a "differential"—that is, agreeing that it may do its business at a rate less than that of its rich rival, for the purpose of securing an increased patronage; and we thus have an instance of the thoroughly illogical practice of a weak company having to carry its freight and passengers at a rate less than that of a more favored competitor, as a consequence of the very fact that it costs the poor company more to do the business. Take also the case of two competitive lines such as the Erie and New York Central between New York and Buffalo. The Inter-State-Commerce Law applies to the former because it happens to run through more than one State, but not to the latter for the reason that it all happens to lie in the same State.

A very grave injustice results to the railways of the United States from the fact that they are hampered by the law, while their active competitors in Canada, some of them heavily subsidized, are not subject to it and are free to obtain remunerative local rates upon business within their own country sufficient in itself to sustain them and earn profits; which enables them to make unprofitable rates upon business competitive with the roads of the United States. If our roads attempt to meet this competition, they have to reduce their local rates and put their entire property in jeopardy.

A similar injustice arises in competition with water-ways. Boat lines, having no capital invested in right of way and being at no expense for its maintenance, are able to make such low rates at competitive points that the railways, restricted as they are, cannot take measures to compete with water transportation. It is true that there is a provision in the act giving the Inter-State-

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Commerce Commissioners authority in such cases to suspend the long- and short-haul clause under certain circumstances, but it has not been so generally exercised as to afford the desired relief. The present commissioners have administered the law intelligently and honestly, so that in their hands it has undergone a fair test; but their best efforts have been embarrassed by its inherent defects and by State legislation. The whole subject is in a transition and chaotic state; Federal power and State sovereignty are in frequent conflict; when under the national commission satisfactory inter-State rates are established, State commissions force a different rate through the portion of the territory which is within their jurisdiction; the railway finds itself ground between the upper and nether millstones, and the shipper becomes the victim of constant and unforeseen fluctuations in rates.

A demoralization in rates is frequently attributed to the action of speculative railway managers, who are supposed to break and to restore rates for the purpose of affecting the market price of their speculative holdings of securities; but, while this may be true in some few instances, the public must look for a much more potent cause to explain the evil. It is natural to blame the manager of a railroad, whatever may be his motives, for not maintaining remunerative rates, but it must be recollected that one manager cannot accomplish this result without the coöperation of his competitors. Every one acknowledges the disastrous burdens entailed upon each of the great powers of Europe in maintaining an enormous army, but no one nation can safely disarm unless there is a general disarmament on the part of its rivals. The traffic of a railway is the commodity from the sale of which it must look for its living. If the commodity which a farmer or a merchant sells is not disposed of in one season, he can hold it for the next; but if the commodity of a railroad company is not availed of, it is found that it has been taken possession of by competitors, and that the railway company has suffered a loss which it cannot regain. Hence the railway manager is often inclined to suffer a loss of rates rather than a loss of tonnage.

Heretofore the railway companies of this country have made strenuous, and up to a certain point successful, efforts to meet a reduction of rates by a reduction of expenses. The invention of the cheapened processes for making steel rails created a revolution in the economical working of railways; then

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came improved locomotives of increased power and more economical in fuel ; the freight car of ten tons' capacity and ten tons in weight has been superseded by one of thirty tons' capacity and only thirteen tons in weight, thus largely reducing the dead-weight to be hauled. It will thus be seen that many fortunate circumstances have assisted in accomplishing a reduction in expenses which cannot in all likelihood be repeated. A loss in the amount of traffic can be offset in part by a reduction of the working force, but a loss from the decrease of rates does not admit of this remedy.

It is probable that a further reduction in rates would have to be met on some roads by reducing wages and scaling down the interest on securities. We must recollect, in view of such an aspect of the case, that the $10,000,000,000 invested in the railways of the United States earned last year an average of only 3.4 per cent., and of this amount the capital stock, representing the ownership, received an average of less than 1 per cent.

There can be no doubt that every branch of industry in the country, if the subject were carefully and dispassionately considered, would declare in favor of railway peace, and the security of uniform, stable, and reasonable rates. The one million of railway employees are the first to suffer from the poverty of railways, either in reduction of wages or loss of occupation. The very large commercial industry which deals in railway supplies is quick to feel a diminution in the purchasing power by the companies. The travelling public soon takes alarm at the accidents that multiply rapidly upon poverty-stricken lines which have not the means of properly maintaining their roadways and equipment. The general markets both here and abroad are very sensitive to anything which affects railway earnings, and the financial depressions which occur when railways suffer affect every branch of business.

In talking with intelligent men in London, Paris, Amsterdam, and Frankfort, I have found but one expression of opinion, which is to the effect that if the railways of the United States could secure stable and reasonable rates, and follow the example of England and other countries in putting a stop to railway wars, the favorite investment of all European capitalists would be American railway securities. Such a result would start a flow of

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money to the United States which would give a new impulse to every kind of trade.

The shipper would unquestionably derive the most important and immediate benefit from a policy which would put an end to rate wars. At the present time he is forced to be a gambler in rates, just as importing merchants were compelled to be gamblers in gold before the return to specie payments, when the price of that metal was subject to daily fluctuations. He realizes the enormous outlay entailed upon railways in the payment of commissions and rebates, and in maintaining outside agencies with numerous expensive offices, and he knows that any plan which would abolish these, insure permanent and reasonable rates, and so improve the credit of railway companies as to enable them to procure money on better terms, would bring about large savings, and that he would naturally share to some extent the economies thus effected. He cares very little how this result is brought about, so long as he secures first-class service at reasonably low rates, and is absolutely assured that such rates will be public, uniform, and permanent, and that it will be impossible for his rivals to obtain any advantage over him through discrimination.

The practical question which this leads up to is the remedy. Before the passage of the Inter-State-Commerce Law the simplest means was pooling upon the basis of agreed percentages of business by the several competing roads and the evening-up by the diversion of traffic or payment in money to the roads which failed to carry their proportion of the tonnage. The principal defect was that this arrangement was not of such a nature as to be binding in law, and the penalties provided could not be enforced.

An immediate relief could be afforded by an amendment to the Inter-State-Commerce Law authorizing pooling, provided it be conducted under the direct supervision of the Inter-State-Commerce Commissioners. Under such an arrangement there would be an assurance of permanency and stability in rates among the active competing lines, and while the present tariffs, by far the lowest in the world, might not be advanced, the railways could introduce so many economies, and dispense with so much of the present expensive and complicated machinery for obtaining business, that their savings in this respect would insure

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a reasonable profit. A bill providing for this was introduced in the Senate of the last Congress. It seemed to meet with considerable favor, but the adjournment was reached before the measure was brought to a vote.

It is hard to imagine that any intelligent shipper in the country could raise a valid objection to such an amendment. The objection on the part of railways might be that it would stimulate the building of more competing roads by encouraging the promoters of such enterprises to believe that upon the completion of the new lines they would be admitted to the pool; but no remedy can be found which would not have some disadvantages.

There are persons who believe that the necessities of the case will lead Congress to proceed still further under the constitutional provision giving it the right to "regulate commerce among the several States," and that it will extend its sole authority over all the railways, and at least end the unfortunate conflict between national and State regulation. It is contended that, if Congress has the right to regulate the transit of a box of goods carried through the States, it may claim the right to regulate the means of transportation by which the box is carried—that is, the railway systems of the country. The extraordinary scope which has already been claimed for this constitutional provision prepares us for almost any interpretation of it. The framers of the constitution undoubtedly intended it as a means of protection to the channels of through commerce, fearing that the States might attempt to swell their revenues by imposing transit duties upon business passing through their territory. But this very wise and necessary constitutional provision is now made a pretext for imposing upon the channels of through commerce onerous restrictions, which are a source of embarrassment instead of protection. In assuming the sole right to regulate the railway systems, Congress would be met by the fact that most of the railway companies are organized under State charters; but it might perhaps overcome this difficulty by granting them national charters. On the question of regulating our great channels of commerce Congress is now astride of the fence, and it would be a relief to all parties in interest to have it get down on one side or the other.

The remedy which is resorted to at present for steadying the rates is that which is effected by the formation of traffic associations composed of competing lines. These have brought the railway

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officers together in joint meetings, have cultivated a more friendly feeling among them, and have led to joint traffic agreements which have been of benefit both to the roads and the shippers in many ways. The inherent difficulties and disadvantages of the method are the following: It is generally impossible to have all the competing lines enter the association, and the one which remains outside is independent as to the fixing of rates, and practically has a "call" on the business; traffic has to be equalized by the granting of "differentials," the distribution of tonnage, and the evening-up of passenger business by trying to divert it at times to particular lines; the companies retain their distinct individuality, and no comprehensive arrangement can be made for a common use of cars in order to divert them to certain lines at different seasons according to the exigencies of the service created by the moving of the different crops; the association being liable to termination upon comparatively short notice, the roads do not feel justified in abandoning their numerous outside agencies and expensive machinery for obtaining business, knowing that there would be great difficulty in reëstablishing them in case of the dissolution of the association. Attempts have been made to strengthen such organizations by making more stringent provision for penalties, extending the life of the association for a term of years without the power to terminate it sooner, and agreeing upon a joint agent at each of the principal competing points, with full authority to distribute the business as nearly as may be upon agreed percentages; but such action has thus far been deemed too radical to secure the approval of a sufficient number of the parties in interest.

It has also been proposed to unite the boards of the several roads in the association into a congress of boards, such congress in joint meeting to dictate the policy of the several roads and appoint all their officers.

A plan which is meeting with much favor at present is the proposition to create a joint ownership by forming a parent corporation, which by purchase or exchange of stocks shall become the proprietor of the association roads. Such a plan would secure the economies which are always brought about by the wholesale as against the retail method of doing business, and would be a much more effective cure for existing evils than the temporary methods which have thus far been put in practice. It is a no-

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ticeable fact that the tendency towards common ownership or consolidation is increasing, and that the difficulties with which railways have been surrounded are gradually forcing this remedy upon them as a measure of self-protection. At every important meeting of an association more potent methods are adopted, and each year finds an increased number of roads absorbed by others.

There is much encouragement to be derived from the rapidly-increasing traffic of the country, the better prices now received by crop-growers, the decrease in competitive railway construction, and the conservatism which will be brought about through investments in railway securities by the people of those States in which few of such securities are now held.

With a proper exercise of the large experience and recognized ability possessed by railway managers, and public discussions which will lead to a better knowledge of the subject, there are good reasons to believe that a better understanding will be reached between legislators, shippers, and railway companies, and that methods will be introduced which will be for the good of all and end the possibilities of further warfare. If unremunerative rates are forced upon the railways, they will unquestionably lead to a deterioration of the service and the impossibility of raising money to build necessary extensions and create new roads. Capital, which furnishes the sinews of all business, will shun localities which render investments unprofitable, disbursements will be smaller, the purchasing power of customers will be reduced, and every branch of trade will feel the evil effects. It is a sound axiom that whatever injures a part injures the whole, and no one great industry of the country can suffer without others suffering in some degree. The moral of the ancient fable is very pertinent to this case: when the limbs entered upon a warfare against the stomach and refused to contribute their share to its support, their enfeebled condition, which resulted from its inability to nourish them, soon brought them to a realizing sense of the value of the principle of mutual assistance.

HORACE PORTER.

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THE WORKINGMAN AND FREE SILVER.

BY T. V. POWDERLY, GENERAL MASTER WORKMAN OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

THE mechanic and the laborer are as deeply interested in the free coinage of silver as the farmer can possibly be. The latter, it is true, owns more of the earth's surface, but, after all, he can extract from it only a living; the mechanic and the laborer are entitled to as much, if they earn it, and at death all will take leave of earth on an equality, so far as being burdened with the care of baggage or property *en route* to eternity is concerned. In earning a livelihood and in paying as they go, all are equally concerned in the medium of exchange which enables the agriculturist to purchase the machinery and tools he requires and affords the laborer the means of procuring the products of the farm as an exchange for the labor expended on the machinery and tools aforesaid. The workman of the city or town, who has no capital save his labor, sets as much store by that labor as does the farmer by his farm or the millionaire by his millions; it is his all, and should he be deprived of the right or power to exercise it, he would have lost his all. No man could lose more, no matter how wealthy he might be.

To the laborer, then, the currency question is as important as to any man in the land. If the currency is so costly, intrinsically, that but few can afford to possess a great deal of it, or if the material of which it is made is subject to speculative traffic, the opportunities to secure steady employment will vary in proportion to the fluctuations in the price of the commodity of which the money is made. If it will yield a greater profit to sell silver or gold as a commodity than to invest it, as money, in the building, stock, and machinery of a factory, it will be sold as a commodity.

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If the workman of the city could hold his labor in the hollow of his hand and regard it as a tangible, real possession, something that he could hold to await an advance in price or value, he would set more store by it than he does, and he would part with it more reluctantly than at present. The farmer enters more deeply into the act of selling and buying; he is found more intimately concerned in the regulation of market prices than the city workman, and, as a natural result, takes keener interest in anything that enters into the regulation of prices. The farmer has been heard on the silver question; and the city workman, although he has not spoken out on the subject, holds views identical with those of his neighbor on the farm. So far as the laborer is concerned, he could get along very well if there were no gold or silver. He did exist and prosper during and after the Civil War, seventeen years in all, without feasting his eyes on a piece of gold or silver coin. It may be said of the laborer that he is in favor of a circulating medium that will be a full legal-tender for all debts public and private, the same to be issued by his government, as authorized by the constitution of the United States, without the intervention of any banking concern whatever. As to the material of which this money shall be composed, he is not particular except so far that it shall not be of a material that may be monopolized and withdrawn from circulation through war, panic, or speculation. He receives his earnings at the end of each month or week, and never complains that the money paid him rarely contains either silver or gold; he is not disturbed in mind because it is composed entirely of paper, except the fractional part, which is in silver that is of a less intrinsic value than the silver dollar was or will be; and he never hears any complaint from Americans because of the inferior quality of this fractional currency.

Object-lessons are the best, it is said, and what he witnesses every day cannot fail to leave its impress upon his mind. He saw a nation pass through the throes of a civil war equalled in bitterness and fury by none; he saw the hard money of the nation, or, rather, the hard-money men of the nation take themselves to Europe for safety, and on the strength of their hard cash attempt to loan money to this government—not gold and silver, but paper, at rates of interest ranging from 10 to 33 per cent.; he saw a patriot President stand up between the nation and the usurers in a demand

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upon Congress to issue a full legal-tender paper currency; he saw $60,000,000 of a full legal-tender paper currency circulate until children old enough to read of the war that had ended, and who had never seen a piece of gold or silver money, were told that years ago gold and silver were money, but were no longer used as such. Then in Congress, at the behest of the owners of gold, silver was secretly and stealthily demonetized. This the laborer did not see, nor the President who signed the bill; and within the last few months statesmen who were Senators and Congressmen in 1873, when the demonetization of silver was accomplished, have admitted voting for the bill without knowing that it contained the demonetization clause. One statesman has not denied a knowledge of that act of treachery to the people—John Sherman—and he is to-day the subject of adverse criticism by nearly every living man who sat with him in the Senate when that bill was adopted without question, on his word that it contained nothing that interfered with the coinage of the silver dollar. Gold is the legal standard to-day because the bankers, brokers, and gold-owners of the world influenced Congress to make it so; the people never demanded it, never uttered a sentiment that could be construed in favor of monometallism, never petitioned Congress or a Congressman to pass such a law. It was done when a bill, with sixty-seven sections, as long as the moral law, was under discussion, and was passed through Congress without question, because that body had faith in the honor of a committee of three of which Mr. Sherman was chairman.

It could not have been the American needs of finance that urged Congress to demonetize silver, for neither gold nor silver had been in circulation for years. The enactments of July 17, 1861, and February 12, 1862, authorized the issue of $60,000,000 treasury notes that were a full legal-tender, without exception, for all debts, dues, and demands. Within a week after the adoption of this last act the bankers of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia held a convention in Washington, and resolved to protest against the government issuing the currency directly to the people. If a full legal-tender paper money should continue to issue to the people, there would be no further demand for gold, and *Shylock* would be cheated out of his pound of flesh. The result of the deliberations of that convention were made known to the country when Congress, on the 25th of February, 1862, passed an act which declared

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that the greenback should be a "legal-tender for all debts, public and private, except duties on imports and interest on the public debt," which from that time on should be paid in coin. The adoption of that act, known as the "exception-clause act," created a demand for a metallic money. Gold and silver had been withdrawn from circulation, and for years after the Civil War were known as money only in the resorts of the money-changers. Shortly after the ending of the Civil War the resumption of specie payments began to be agitated, and if that should come to pass, with gold and silver standing on the same ground of equality which they had occupied from the founding of the government, the bondholder would have to accept the interest accruing on his bonds in coin of either metal. A bill to revise the laws relating to the mints was adopted by Congress early in 1873, and in it was concealed the clause which demonetized the silver dollar and gave the gold the monopoly. Then came the Resumption Act of January 24, 1875, and from that time forward the interest on the public debt must be paid in gold. The public debt at the time the Demonetization Act was passed was $2,234,482,993.20. The Resumption Act did not intend that those who earned money through labor should be paid in specie; its intent was to pay the bondholder a different kind of money from that with which he purchased his bonds, and as the principal and interest of that debt must be paid by labor or not at all, it will be seen that the burden has fallen upon the shoulders of those who labor in the United States. The difference of half a billion of dollars on the principal, and the interest on the whole ever since 1873, coming from the sweat of the mechanic and the laborer, ought to cause him to take an interest in the free coinage of silver.

The term "free and unlimited coinage of silver" is misunderstood. Many believe it to mean that everything in the shape of silver, bullion or otherwise, will at once be coined in unlimited quantities and thrown on the street. Only those who have silver to coin will take it to the mint, and only those who earn it will or should legally be permitted to possess it. "But then foreigners will send their silver here to be coined if it is free, and that will give us too much money," is another cry. If a dollar's worth of silver comes from across the water, a dollar's worth of some American product will be exchanged for it, unless the foreigner is reckless enough to send his bullion for nothing. If he

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does, we are the gainers. If he desires to coin his silver into American dollars, they must circulate here and pay for labor and commodities here; for as soon as they go abroad they must go through the crucible and appear in another form, as the money of another nation; and gold must do exactly the same. Every argument that has been or will be used against silver can with equal force be directed against gold, for there is no such thing as "money of the world." We see no foreign coin in circulation here. There is no American coin in circulation in any other country. The fact that both gold and silver are susceptible of so many currency changes causes the workman to believe that paper is the best material of which to make money; it is cheap, it cannot be monopolized, it cannot be melted into coin of another nation, and if it goes abroad it will, like a true American, come home; not that alone, but it will come home in payment for the product of American labor. Should war invade our domain, a paper currency would not play the coward's part, as did gold and silver in 1861, and flee from us; no man could turn it into anything that he could take out of the country to our injury.

The cry that "we will have too much money if silver is remonetized and made the equal of gold" is unworthy of consideration. No nation ever yet complained of having too much money or suffered through that cause. Hard times and panics are due to contractions and not expansions of the currency. Contraction of the currency is not possible where the government itself, acting under its constitutional right, issues the currency directly to the people without the intervention of individuals or corporations. There will be more money in the hands of the people, in bona-fide circulation, if free coinage of silver is restored to where it was up to 1873. We are warned against interfering with vested rights by those who object to free coinage. From 1792 up to 1873, a period of eighty-one years, silver stood side by side with gold as the constitutional money of the United States. The right of silver was a vested right in 1873. No party platform or demand from the people called for its debasement by Congress. It was not because silver was less valuable than gold that it was demonetized, for at the passage of that act it was worth three cents more than gold. All legal decisions and precedents are against that act of Congress; it was not demanded by the people, has never been approved by them, and cannot be defended from any other standpoint

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than as an act stealthily perpetrated in the interest of the power that controlled gold, or that hoped to control the nation through the use of gold. It was to make money scarce that the act was passed, and it succeeded. If anything in existing circumstances warranted the belief even that the volume of gold would be sufficient to transact the business of the nation, there would have been an excuse for the action of Congress, but such was not the case.

The total production of gold in the United States in 1890 was valued at $32,800,000. I do not know what percentage of that amount is consumed in the fine arts and in the jewelry trade, but it is safe to assume that at least one-half will be devoted to these uses, leaving about one-half, or $16,400,000, for use at the mints. The total volume of currency as given in official reports last year, including gold, silver, and paper, was $2,096,344,895. Of that amount $634,010,285 was gold, $458,134,057 silver, and $1,004,-200,553 was made up of the different issues of paper currency. With less than a third of the currency composed of gold, and a total of over two billions of dollars required for use each year, it is simply impossible for gold to constitute an equitable or honest basis for our currency. It must not be forgotten that less than $295,806,831 of the gold coin was in actual circulation; but if we add to that the gold certificates, amounting to $57,862,759, we would then have only $353,669,590 of gold and its representatives in actual circulation. With a population of 62,000,000 people in the United States, we have but a fraction over six dollars per capita of gold in circulation; and with gold as the basis, with the law in existence which authorizes the citizen to demand gold, we find ourselves at the mercy of cliques, rings, and cabals, if they should conspire to ruin our credit as a nation. Three citizens of the United States, Jay Gould, William Waldorf Astor, and John D. Rockefeller, own a combined total of $360,000,000; over six millions more than the actual circulation of gold coin in the United States. If we are to regard gold as the basis on which our currency is to rest, as at present, the three men named have it in their power to withdraw every gold dollar from circulation without any warning or notice whatever; they may absorb and carry out of the country the basis of our national currency, and do it under authority of law.

The census returns estimate the wealth of the nation at

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$1,000 per capita, and with gold as the basis each $1,000 worth of property must be represented by a fraction over six dollars in gold. It is necessary that we have a basis or measure of values, and if gold is to perform that function, those who are wealthy enough to corner gold may corner the nation itself if they desire. The workman's home may be worth from one to five thousand dollars; but the moment the gold gamblers begin to call in the money made of that metal, the mines and workshops will shut down or go on short time, and he has to mortgage his home in order to live. This could not be done with the currency of the nation composed of gold, silver, and paper based upon the faith and resources of the nation and circulating as legal-tender for all debts public and private. The workman is therefore in favor of silver, for it is a step toward supplying the country with a sufficient volume of money to transact the business of the same. A circulating medium based upon the resources of the nation is not so easily tampered with as one based upon gold; it is safer and more patriotic; besides it is not so easy to take $1,000 worth of property out of the country as it is to carry six gold dollars beyond the border of the seas.

"But we want a currency that is redeemable; our paper money is no good in Europe and we cannot use it there," is another argument against silver and paper. Those who repeat that cry oftenest never go to Europe, never deal with any person, corporation, or firm located there, and never have any use for the "money of the world," as they put it. A man may own a million dollars in gold and give his note for $10, and if he has no real estate in this nation his note is not redeemable, and the furthest the debtor can go toward collecting the bill will be to get judgment against him. That judgment will be worthless while the man against whom it issues is the possessor of no real estate in the United States.

With gold as the alleged basis our currency is irredeemable in that metal, and as years grow upon us it will become more so, for the total annual output of gold of the entire world, $121,162,009, is not sufficient to supply this nation alone with a circulating medium sufficient for all demands of the people. The statement that gold furnishes a safe basis is a delusion and a snare. A resolve upon the part of the people to demand gold as payment of one day's labor or business would burst the

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bubble. The circulating medium of this nation is in reality based upon the faith of the people, and nothing in the shape of gold sustains it. Every time a man buys a dollar's worth of meat or flour he redeems the dollar he expends. He need not question the future of that dollar; it has served its purpose with him and that is sufficient; in fact, that is all that money is intended to do, or can do, for it is intended to represent value and need not be, of itself, intrinsically valuable. The redemption is not in exchanging one kind of dollar for another, but in getting pay for the dollar in food or clothing.

"If free and unlimited coinage is restored, it will benefit the owners of silver mines and give us an eighty-cent dollar to circulate with the gold dollar," is another fear entertained. Such an argument applies with equal force against the use of gold, for our present system gives the owners of gold mines a monopoly over all others. The monopoly enjoyed by gold employs but little labor in comparison with what would be employed if silver were admitted to free coinage: a stimulus would be given to labor in the West, and the prosperity of that part of the country could not possibly have a bad effect on the East. In any event, to ask for free coinage is not the heretical demand the apologists for gold would have us believe, for it is only a demand for what we had and enjoyed from the founding of the republic up to 1873. Shall we have an eighty-cent dollar running neck and neck with one containing one hundred cents? Remonetize silver, and it becomes as legitimately a dollar as is gold; the sliding scale which is expressly provided may at all times determine the ratio between the two coins, and, once remonetized, the commodity value of silver will cease to exist.

In no market has gold a commodity value to-day; it is not quoted anywhere as a commodity, simply because it has been admitted to free coinage as money. Pokers are made of iron, but once forged into pokers they are no longer quoted as iron and are used as pokers until necessity shall demand a change, when they may be forged into fence railings or something else. While they are pokers they are valued only as pokers and nothing else, and a gold poker or a silver poker will have no more value as a poker than an iron one. There will be this difference, however: there will always be more of a temptation to hide the gold and silver pokers away than those made of iron, and as a consequence the

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iron ones will be most reliable for every-day use until a cheaper and equally durable metal is discovered, when iron will have to give way. What is true of pokers is true of currency; the material should not be too costly or difficult to produce.

The mechanic and the laborer favor the free coinage of silver only as a step forward, for they believe enough money should circulate to do the business of the nation ; and when money can be made of paper that will be as difficult to counterfeit, as safe and reliable in every way, and, above all, of material so cheap that the government, of which they are a part, will not have to pay exorbitant prices to gold and silver miners, they believe that Congress should do in 1892 what it did in 1862—issue a full legal-tender paper dollar based upon the only thing that can make money really valuable, the faith and resources of this go-ahead nation.

T. V. POWDERLY.

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THE QUORUM IN EUROPEAN LEGISLATURES.

BY THEODORE STANTON; WITH LETTERS FROM LOUIS RUCHONNET, EX-PRESIDENT OF THE SWISS CONFEDERATION; PRESIDENT VON LEVETZOW, OF THE GERMAN REICHSTAG; HENRI BRISSON, JULES MÉLINE, SOFUS HÖGSBRO, PRESIDENT OF THE DANISH FOLKETHING; A. CHIAVASSA, OF THE ITALIAN SENATE, AND OTHERS.

THE position taken by Speaker Reed in the last Congress concerning the manner of counting a quorum in the House of Representatives renders interesting a glance at the way the same question is treated by the legislative bodies of Continental Europe. I have examined the subject with some care, and have put myself in communication with leading politicians and the presiding officers of political assemblies in several Continental countries. The result of my inquiries is both curious and instructive.

As in art, literature, and civil liberty, so in this matter of the legislative quorum, the influence of France has been felt in all parts of Continental Europe. The word quorum came into France from England, but the French have always taken its meaning in a much more restricted sense than that given to it by the House of Commons. But in the beginning the number of members necessary to constitute a quorum was much smaller than it is to-day. In the first Constituent Assembly, composed of 1,145 members, 200 made a quorum, or, rather, it was necessary simply that 200 deputies be "present" at the moment when the house was called to order. The constitution of September 14, 1791, stated that the legislative body, composed of 745 members, might not transact business unless "at least 200 deputies are present." It does not appear that the convention established any quorum. The rules of that body simply say that if, at the end of a sitting, less than 200 members are "present," any deputy may

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demand that the roll be called. The Council of Ancients, with its 250 members, might not do business unless at least 126 deputies were "on the floor," while in the case of the Council of Five Hundred the "presence" of 200 members was required. During the consulate it was held by the constitution that "a legislative body may not transact business unless at least two-thirds of its members be present."

In proportion as parliamentary institutions developed in France under the Restoration and July Monarchy, the quorum question grew in importance, until what at first had been simply a matter of number became complicated by the manner of counting this number. The following interesting extracts from unpublished letters* to the author of this article bring out clearly the various aspects of this new phase of the quorum question in France.

M. Henri Brisson, who was president of the Chamber of Deputies for nearly four years, and afterwards Prime Minister, and who is a prominent deputy, writes:

"In France, the president of the Chamber has always held, at least in principle, that he had a right to count, in order to obtain a quorum, the deputies present at the moment a ballot was taken, *whether they voted or not.*† The putting into practice of this principle is attended with certain difficulties. However, I think I have seen M. Grévy exercise this right. I consider it incontestable even when not incorporated in the rules. But the difficulty is generally got around in this fashion: Our rules contain an article to the effect that, in case no quorum is present, a vote on the question under discussion will be called for at the next sitting, when the result will be valid whatever may be the number of deputies who take part in the ballot. So the president orders a vote, declares there is not a quorum, adjourns the sitting, calls the house to order again at the end of ten minutes, and then orders a new vote, which this time becomes valid. This expedient is, like all expedients, useful; but its value may be questioned. Looked at from a legal standpoint, I should prefer the solution recently adopted by the House of Representatives. I

* I may say that the letters which appear in this article were all written with a knowledge of and apropos of the discussion concerning the quorum question in the House of Representatives which has recently taken place in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

† The italics are M. Brisson's.

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ought to add, however, that our procedure secures the end in view; by which I mean that it discourages and renders of very rare occurrence the manœuvre which it aims to check."

M. Jules Grévy, who was M. Carnot's predecessor in the Presidency, had a very wide experience in presiding over parliamentary bodies. During the Republic of 1848 he was vice-president of the Assembly. When the monarchical National Assembly met in 1871, M. Grévy, though a stanch Republican, was chosen as its president, which post he held for over two years. Again in 1876 he became president of the Chamber of Deputies, which office he held till elected Chief Magistrate in 1879. His son-in-law, M. Daniel Wilson, himself a prominent deputy for many years, wrote me recently as follows:

"I have spoken with M. Grévy about the subject which interests you. His opinion was that it was wise to decide that, when it is a question of a quorum, the members present on the floor should be counted *whether they vote or not.** In fact, a fraction of the house should not be permitted to paralyze, by refusing to answer the roll-call, all legislation. M. Henri Brisson is right when he tells you that M. Jules Grévy always considered that, in order to obtain a quorum, he could count as present, *whether they voted or not*, all members on the floor when the ballot was taken. M. Jules Grévy exercised this right, *with the approbation of the Bureau of the Chamber*,† not only once, but several times, while he occupied the presiding officer's chair."

M. Buffet, to-day a life-senator, was president of the National Assembly for nearly two years, between M. Grévy's two terms of office. He says on this same subject:

"It is certain, in the first place, that with us the quorum is decided by the number of *members present*,‡ and not by the number of those who vote. There is, however, one exception to this rule. An article of our constitution declares that the decisions of the Congress,§ united for the purpose of amending the constitution, are valid only when adopted by a majority of the total number of members belonging to the Congress. But in ordinary

* The italics are all M. Wilson's.

† The "Bureau" of the French Chamber of Deputies is composed of a president four vice-presidents, eight secretaries, and three questors or treasurers, elected by the deputies at the beginning of each session.

‡ The italics are M. Buffet's.

§ Composed of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies deliberating as one body.

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cases a vote is valid when the number of *members present* exceeds one more than half of the membership of the body. I have always considered this figure, for the constitution of a quorum, excessive.

"Before a vote is taken, any member may call attention to the fact that there is not a quorum. If the president and the Bureau recognize the truth of the observation, the vote is of necessity postponed to the next sitting; but at this next sitting the ballot is valid, whatever may be the number of members present and voting. In practice it is very rare for a member to refer to this matter of a quorum. Many bills are carried by a rising and sitting vote in the presence of a house far smaller than that called for by the rules. When the vote is taken by means of cards, the quorum is established by the number of cards found in the baskets, although this number is often very much greater than the number of members present, on account of the very bad practice which prevails of voting for absent members.* This abuse may be checked, however, by calling the roll and requiring members to go up to the tribune to cast their vote."

M. Pierre, general secretary of the presidency of the Chamber of Deputies, is one of the greatest authorities in France on parliamentary law, and is the author of several works on the subject. "He is the depository of all the precedents," writes M. Buffet, "and, which is worth still more, the favorite pupil of M. Valette,† whom I consider, in the matter of parliamentary rules, as the law and the prophets." Here is what M. Pierre writes me:

"The numerous precedents given in my work ('Treatise on Parliamentary Law,' which I published some years ago) will show you that the decision of the United States House of Representatives is in conformity with our jurisprudence. The rules of the French Chamber of Deputies require, in order that a vote be valid, the *presence*‡ of one more than half of the legal number of the

* The common mode of voting in the French Senate and Chamber is by means of cards (*bulletins*). Each deputy or senator has two boxes of cards with his name printed on them. The white cards are affirmative; the blue ones negative. When the pages pass about the boxes (*urnes*), a member not only votes for himself, but may put into the box the cards of his friends who happen to be absent. The practice is indeed "very bad," for absent members are often made to cast a white card when, if present, they would have used a blue one, or *vice versâ*.

† A distinguished French jurist, member of the Institute and author of many able legal publications. He died in 1878.

‡ The italics are M. Pierre's.

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full membership of the Chamber,—the *presence*, and *not the vote*. That is to say, if the necessary number of deputies is present in the chamber, but intentional absences reduce below the quorum the number of votes cast, the ballot is nevertheless declared to be valid. In this case, the Bureau must declare that, at the moment when the ballot was taken, one more than half of the representatives of the country were on the floor. This quorum question, as is shown by the precedents, has created frequent difficulties in France; so an article was recently added to the rules in order to meet the impossibility of balloting on account of the lack of a quorum. [M. Pierre then gives the remedy already mentioned by M. Brisson and M. Buffet.] In this way systematic absence is prevented."*

M. Jules Méline, ex-Minister of Agriculture, a prominent member of the present Chamber of Deputies, and president of that body two or three years ago, writes me as follows:

"If, when a ballot is to be taken, a deputy states that half of the members are not on the floor, the president is obliged to consult the Bureau; and if the Bureau is unanimous in declaring that a quorum is present, then the ballot is valid; but if the Bureau is divided on the question, a roll-call is ordered for the purpose of finding out how many deputies are really on the floor. But this proceeding is not so effective as it would seem; for as members cannot be forced to appear at the tribune † to deposit their ballots, the systematic absence of a certain number of members may put a stop to legislation even when a quorum is really present. During the last Chamber ‡ these tactics were frequently employed by the Monarchical and Boulangist opposition. But the rules have provided against this intentional obstruction, which otherwise might completely paralyze the parliamentary régime."

M. Méline then describes the expedient already explained by

* The advantages and disadvantages of the quorum in the French Chambers are given in full in M. Pierre's little pamphlet, entitled "La Procédure Parlementaire."

† *Le vote à la tribune et par appel nominal* is conducted in this way: One of the secretaries calls the roll, and each deputy, as his name is pronounced, goes up to the tribune, where the secretary gives him a ball (*une boule de contrôle*). He then deposits his card (*bulletin*) in the box placed on the tribune, and the ball in the box placed on the table of the secretaries. The secretaries, at the end of the ballot, count the cards and the balls, which must be equal in number. On each card is printed the name of the deputy who deposited it.

‡ The one ending in the summer of 1889, presided over by M. Méline.

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M. Buffet and M. Brisson, of which, like the latter, he says: "It must be admitted that this proceeding is rather arbitrary." He then adds:

"It is by means of this ingenious expedient that the quorum difficulty is met and systematic obstruction prevented. But it must be confessed that thereby very little of the principle is left standing, and the question may well be asked whether its preservation is worth all this trouble. This device is fair and quite in conformity with the true aims of legislation. While it is evident that laws should always be made by the majority of the representatives of the country, it is also evident that these same representatives should do their duty. Coercive measures will always be found powerless to force them to perform this duty when they are determined to shirk it. There is something more important than the presence of the deputy at the moment when a ballot is to be taken; it is his being on the floor during the debate which leads up to the ballot. For my own part, I should accord much more authority to a law made by two hundred deputies who had carefully followed the debates concerning it than to a law passed in a hurry by five hundred deputies who had heard nothing about it. You will perceive, therefore, that I am, at bottom, quite sceptical as to the advantages of the famous quorum. I would be more ready, it is true, to admit the principle into legislative bodies where the opposition is small, and so unable to use it as an instrument of war against the majority."

After France—perhaps I should say before France—the Continental nation which has had the most experience in legislative procedure is, doubtless, Switzerland. M. Louis Ruchonnet, President of the Confederation when these lines were written, says:*

"The recent decision of the United States House of Representatives conforms to Swiss procedure. With us, each chamber may deliberate legally when one more than half of the members are present. But every ballot is binding when it is a majority of those *voting*. It is not necessary, therefore, that the majority consist of one more than half of the membership of the Council, nor even one more than half of the members necessary to form a quorum. Let me illustrate. The Council of States (*Conseil des*

*M. Ruchonnet is now Minister of Justice and Police in the Swiss Federal Council, or Cabinet as we should say.

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*États**) is made up of forty-four members. Its proceedings are legal if twenty-three members are present. If a ballot is taken, and eight members, for instance, vote aye and four no, and eleven do not vote at all, the ballot is valid and the Council has voted in the affirmative. In the National Council (*Conseil National* †) a two-thirds' vote of the members present is necessary in order to cut off further debate on a question before the house.

"Here is the way by which it is decided whether either house contains a quorum or no: At the hour fixed for opening the sitting, the secretary calls the roll. If the number of members answering to their names exceeds one-half of the total membership, there is a quorum, and the president declares the house to be ready for business. If this be not the case, no business can be transacted. If, during a sitting, the president or a member finds that there is not a quorum present, the roll is again called; but if nobody directs attention to the fact, business is often transacted without there being a quorum."

In the Belgian Chamber of Representatives, I learn from the rules, a *liste de présence* is placed at the disposition of the members, a half-hour before the sitting begins, in order that they may sign it. When it is time to call the house to order, the president glances at the list, and orders the roll to be called for those who have not signed. If there is still no quorum, the house is adjourned to one of the four succeeding days, and the list of members present and absent is published in full in the *Annales Parlementaires*, which corresponds to our *Congressional Record*. Every member present who is on the floor at the moment a ballot is taken, but who does not vote, will be invited ("*sera invité*," Art. 29 of the rules reads) by the president, after the roll-call, to give his reasons for not voting. The president, M. de Lantsheere, writes me:

"The question of the quorum in the Belgian house is regulated by the rules. In practice, the president generally opens the sitting without paying attention to the number of members who have signed the *liste de présence*. Many members do not themselves sign the list; their names are noted by a page. The roll-call at the opening of a sitting is resorted to in order to find out who are absent, and whose names shall be published in the

* Corresponding to the United States Senate.
† Corresponding to the American House of Representatives.

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Annales, rather than to learn how many members are on the floor. This preliminary roll-call is considered a measure *de rigueur*. Otherwise the president never has recourse to it, except when absenteeism becomes too general and persistent. If he lets it be known that he intends to have the roll called, the announcement is generally sufficient to bring absent members upon the floor.

"Every member present on the floor of the house when a ballot is taken is obliged to take part in it. If a member will vote neither aye nor no, he is required to state the reason of his course. If half plus one of the members composing the body do not vote, the president adjourns the house, and this ballot is placed first on the order of business of the next sitting. In determining the number of members present, all are counted—those who vote negatively and affirmatively and those who decline to vote.

"The measure adopted in the United States is, therefore, practised in Belgium. I do not recall that it has given rise to any criticism. It acts only as a very mediocre bar against obstruction. It is always easy to quit the floor. On various occasions the opposition have done this; when a ballot was to be taken, they have left the house, and so made it impossible to transact business. It even once happened that the whole opposition refused to appear at a sitting, when it was known that the majority, on account of the forced absence of some of its members, could not form a quorum. On the other hand, there have been instances where members of the majority have left the floor in order to prevent a vote hostile to the cabinet.

"The rules of the Senate governing this matter do not differ materially from those of the House. In fact, this view may be said to have become a part of the common law of Belgium, for the law of May 18, 1874, concerning commercial corporations, declares (Art. 61) that at a general meeting of stockholders, in default of a by-law governing any particular case which may arise, recourse will be had to the ordinary rules governing deliberative bodies."

The president of the Danish Folkething, or Lower House, Mr. Sofus Högsbro writes me:

"According to Article 61 of the present constitution of Denmark, 'neither of the two houses may sit unless more than half of the members are present and vote.' But it has long been the custom for members who reply, when the roll is called, 'I do not

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vote,' to be counted as present, and consequently to contribute to the formation of the quorum, notwithstanding their non-participation in the ballot. In cases of urgency, it is sometimes desired to suspend the rules of the house, which is permitted by Article 44, 'provided that no constitutional stipulations are affected thereby.' For this purpose, the majority must consist of three-quarters 'of those voting.' In such a case, I, as president of the chamber, consider it my duty to apply a more strict interpretation of the rules, and I do not permit members who reply, when their names are called, 'I do not vote,' to be counted among those who take part in the ballot. When, on March 28, 1890, a deputy protested against this interpretation (see the 'Proceedings of the Chamber,' p. 4,465), I answered that it was necessary to make a distinction between the quorum competent to debate a proposition and the quorum competent to vote the same proposition. For this latter purpose, in this matter of the suspension of the rules, only those may be counted for the constitution of a quorum who actually take part in the ballot by voting aye or no."

The president of the Dutch Chamber writes me:

"In the Netherlands the question which has agitated the Congress of the United States could not arise, for, according to the rules of our house, the sitting begins as soon as the absolute majority of the legal number of deputies is present. This same majority is necessary in order that a ballot may be valid. A single member may demand the ayes and noes, and then every member present is forced to answer to his name by saying *voor* (aye) or *tegen* (no)."

When I asked Mr. Beelaerts van Blohle what he would do if a member refused to answer when his name was called, I received this reply:

"Such a case is not provided for, and I cannot imagine that there could be any reason for a member to act in that way, as he would be openly defying the explicit rules of the house. The doors of the house always being open, members who do not wish to answer at roll-call have simply to retire. They are required to vote only when they are present."

It is evident that the minority in the Dutch Chamber is either very small or very docile.

M. Rodrigues de Freitas, who, a number of years ago, was the first Republican deputy to enter the Portuguese Chamber of

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Deputies, and who was again a deputy last winter, writes me as follows from Oporto:

"Article 54 of the rules of the Portuguese Chamber of Deputies (law of March 22, 1876) reads as follows: 'No deputy may be excused from voting if he is present at the moment when the ballot commences.' One of the provisions in the rules of the House of Lords (law of April 20, 1843) is to the same effect. Our Administrative Code of July 27, 1886, contains a similar clause. The quorum consists of at least one-third of the total membership of the house. But on March 12 and 15, 1884, the Chamber of Deputies decided that the sitting could begin if only one-quarter of the members were present, and that this quorum was sufficient to pass on the minutes of the previous sitting, to listen to reports, and to debate bills, but not to vote them. In the House of Lords nineteen members constitute a quorum; but, when only nineteen members are on the floor, it requires fifteen ayes to pass a measure. If more than nineteen peers are on the floor, then a majority of those present will suffice to pass a bill.

"Sometimes deputies leave the house when a ballot is about to be taken; but often they remain, taking no part in the ballot, notwithstanding the rule which prohibits this course. But in this case they are not counted for the purpose of making a quorum. There are even instances where, in a ballot by roll-call, members present on the floor have declined to vote and yet were considered as absent by the president, although their non-participation in the ballot destroyed the quorum. You perceive, therefore, that the question of 'those who do not vote' has not been raised in Portugal. In fact, it strikes me as rather odd that, in order to obtain a quorum, a member is counted when he does not vote. It is much as if a piece of wood or a statue could, *per interim*, be a representative of the people." *

The following bit of rather curious information comes to me from Christiania, from Mr. H. E. Berner, the well-known member of the Storthing, or Lower House, of Norway. He says:

"Article 73 of our constitution requires the presence of at least two-thirds of the deputies, and Article 13 of the law of July 7, 1828, concerning the responsibilities of deputies, punishes

* In a postscript to his letter M. de Freitas says: "This information is furnished me by the most competent authority on this subject, Baron de St. Clement, honorary director of the stenographers' bureau of the Chamber and author of several works on the history of the Portuguese Parliament.

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with a fine of from 400 to 4,000 crowns * members who absent themselves from the chamber. Article 24 of the rules of the house, revised in 1890, is still more precise in this matter. You perceive, therefore, that our deputies are required to attend the sittings of the chamber and to take part in the ballots. Obstruction by a minority, whether by leaving the house or by not voting when on the floor, would be impossible in the Norwegian Parliament."

In answer to my inquiries, Herr von Levetzow, president of the German Reichstag, writes :

"Article 28 of the Imperial Constitution declares that a majority of the lawful membership of the Diet must be present in order that laws may be passed. At the beginning of each sitting the roll is called for the purpose of knowing whether a *quorum* is present. Whenever, in the course of the sitting, there is reason to doubt the presence of the necessary number of members, the roll is again called, as is prescribed by Article 54 of our rules. If it is found that less than 199 members are present, no business may be transacted and the Reichstag adjourns. If during this roll-call it should happen that a member present on the floor does not respond to his name, he would undoubtedly be counted with the other members if noticed by the functionaries ; but the rules of the Reichstag contain no provision for a case of this kind." †

Mr. Olof Wijk, formerly president of the Second Chamber of the Swedish Diet, sends me the following information from his home at Gothenburg :

"No quorum is necessary for the transaction of business in either of the two chambers of the Swedish Diet. The proceedings in the chambers may not be brought to a close so long as there is any member who wishes to address the house on the question under discussion. All that can be done is adjourn the debate

* That is, from about $110 to about $1,110.

† Baron Georg von Bunsen, once a prominent member of the Reichstag, sends me the following additional information concerning the manner of voting in that body :

"Our quorum consists of one more than half of the legal number of members. The latter being, in the case of the Reichstag, 397, its quorum is 199. A vote is taken either by members rising in their seats, or by members retiring into the lobby, thence to reënter by different doors, or by all members present answering *yea* or *nay* when their names are called in alphabetical order. It may interest you to know that about twenty-six years ago Werner Siemens, the great electrician, offered the House of [Prussian] Representatives, of which he was then a member, an electric apparatus by which the votes of all present could be taken and shown instantaneously. This admirable offer, which was of course gratis, was rejected."

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to another day. However, the Diet has never been troubled by 'obstruction,' although discussions may often have been prolonged more than was strictly necessary on account of the desire of members to let their constituents know the views of their representatives on important questions; for, as the ballot is secret in our Diet, the vote is not published. I may add that there is no way by which members can be forced to vote if they decline to do so."

Signor A. Chiavassa, director of the *Chancellerie* of the Italian Senate, writes in the name of the president, Chevalier Farini, as follows:

"The quorum required in our Parliament is determined by Article 53 of the fundamental statute of the kingdom, which reads as follows: 'The sittings and deliberations of the chambers are neither legal nor valid unless an absolute majority of their members be present.' Up to the present time the question has not been raised as to how the quorum shall be determined, so that the Senate has not been called upon to pronounce on this matter."

Accompanying Signor Chiavassa's letter are the printed rules of the Senate. Article 35 states that when a member directs the president's attention to the fact that there is no quorum, a roll-call is ordered. Then comes this paragraph: "All the members present are counted in making up the legal number"—that is, the quorum "necessary to give validity to measures which are carried by a majority vote of those taking part in the ballot."

I am informed that the rules of the Italian Chamber do not differ materially from those of the Senate. "It has become customary," writes my informant, "to multiply infinitely the number of regular leaves of absence, so that it may be easier to obtain a quorum."

The information which I have been able to obtain from several other countries is either incomplete* or adds nothing new to the facts already given. Examined with a view to its bearing on the recent action in the House of Representatives, one finds that Continental procedure favors, on the whole, the view taken by Speaker Reed. In France, where parliamentary

*The president of the Austrian Chamber of Deputies writes that "one hundred members constitute the quorum and the secretaries count to see if that number is present."

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institutions are more highly developed than in any other European country, with the exception of England perhaps, the testimony of such able presiding officers as the ex-presidents of the Chamber of Deputies, whose letters have been given, is of special weight; and it has been seen that Messrs. Grévy, Buffet, Brisson, and Méline, as well as M. Pierre, all agree as to the wisdom and justice of Speaker Reed's course.

Nor is it in France alone that the quorum difficulty has been met in much the same way as in Washington. In Norway we see members forced by a pecuniary fine to attend sittings and to take part in the ballots, while in the sister kingdom, Sweden, the obstacle is avoided by having no quorum. In Portugal the number required to constitute a quorum is very low,—one-third, and, in some cases, even one-quarter of the members,—while the rules of both the Chamber and the House of Lords require members to vote, although this article does not appear to be enforced by the presiding officer. In Denmark President Högsbro counts non-voters as present on the floor; and in Germany Herr von Levetzow would be inclined to do the same thing if circumstances required it. The presiding officer of the Belgian Chamber of Representatives has evidently encountered many of the same difficulties as those which lately beset Speaker Reed, and has surmounted them in a somewhat similar manner, backed by stringent rules. In Switzerland, too, legislation is not paralyzed by non-participation in the balloting, while one of the rules of the Italian Parliament reads very much like the measure which a few months ago caused such bitter discussion in the House of Representatives and in the public prints. At The Hague alone the perplexing quorum problem does not seem to have yet disturbed the proverbial placidity of the Dutch.

THEODORE STANTON.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

FOOT-BALL: SPORT AND TRAINING.

A YOUNG student who has left home and a parent's watchful care, especially if the home be at some distance from a large city, arrives under the shades of the college he has chosen in a peculiar state of mind. In most cases a healthy, vigorous youth, he is full of life and spirits, and rather overfilled with his own new importance and freedom. He comes among three or four hundred like himself, young bucks who do not wish it to appear that they have come into any different atmosphere from that of the home circle. The first few months are times of hazing,—happily now almost extinct,—of the making of new acquaintances, and of introduction to new pleasures. Two or three hours a day must necessarily be given to recitations, but the rest of the time belongs to each student to use as he pleases for study or pleasure. Even the most exacting of parents would confess that some of this time should be given to relaxation.

Such a number of young bloods huddled together within a small area and full of animal spirits are apt to set each other on to actions that at another time would never enter one of their precious heads. It is all quite harmless and natural, and may never amount to anything more. Most of it has no unfortunate results in after life; some of it, indeed, is far better than mere acres of books that have no life or stimulus in them. But occasionally it hits some hopeful heir very hard, and it is such as he who give the university its bad name, if it has one.

The call for members and candidates for a foot-ball team, or for a dozen foot-ball teams, for a crew or a nine, is a very opportune thing at such a time, and the first-named sport issues its summons on registration day. It is difficult to realize, perhaps, how much wholesome restraint such an athletic sport exerts over new men at college, coming at the time when they are at their weakest; to realize how much influence the system of training the members of the team has over others who merely stand by and watch. Each one who offers himself must be on the field at a certain time every day, must stop smoking,—perhaps he only began yesterday,—must stop drinking, and, in fact, put an end to all those villanies that have not yet been born, but for whose arrival preparations are being made by their mother, the devil.

Order and regularity is the first principle of the team. The trainer insists upon this, and the candidate does not object, because it is a point of honor with him to do his best in the defence of the larger honor of his col-

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lege. He can do his studying, if he wishes, at any time during the day, except for the pair of hours in the afternoon. He may be put off the team at an early date, but he has the opportunity of joining others, and in any case he has had a little suggestion of something respected by his mates much more than the perpetration of some outlandish prank. The two are not very different from one another, except that one is permitted by the community and the other may be—and probably is—contrary to civil and moral law. They serve, however, precisely the same purpose as far as the perpetrator is concerned. They are both the overflow of this new sense of freedom, of naturally buoyant spirits that can be turned into athletic sports as easily as into cards or something worse.

Much of the danger at a university can be traced to its source in the need of wholesome recreation and exercise. It is not the exercise that detracts from study, but the inaction which detracts from both. College morality in a large sense is a thing maligned. The few who do not see fit to put themselves under its protection furnish the material for gossip and journalism which both of these estimable mediums for spreading news credit to the entire university. The morality there is not a perfect thing, but, without detracting from the respect that is justly given our honored parents, it is infinitely better than it was thirty years ago, and "progress is better than perfection."

Close upon the restraint enforced by the training comes that which is the first essential of education, and which has justly been said to be next to godliness. After two hours of strong, vigorous exercise come a hot and cold bath, a "rub-down" with all sorts of healthy liniments, and a phenomenal dinner of soup, roast beef, potatoes, and custard pudding: what could be a better preparation for morality and health and success? It may be too much for a year, too strong exercise for the heat of spring and summer, but three months of it can easily add twenty pounds to a young man's weight and 10 per cent. to his examination marks, and finally—let us be conservative—at least 50 per cent. to his manly self-respect and his ability to reason with clear common-sense on whatever comes before him. One needs but to step into the dining-room of the team or into the huge shower-baths of the gymnasium to see that human manners and human morals are being straightened day by day as well as human bodies. Those whose allowance from the parental exchequer is large must forego fancy dinners and indigestible concoctions, liquid or otherwise; those who know of no parental exchequer are under a like necessity of eating a stunning meal three times a day. Far be it from me to taboo a mellow pipe after dinner or a glass of mellower Burgundy. Many a hard-worked brain playing at foot-ball with the world finds infinite solace in these relaxations. They have their admirable uses; but where they serve no other purpose than that of firebrand to start the flame, it is fortunate that in some cases they can be withheld for a time.

Then, too, the game, in conjunction with others, has a small education in it that would, if they were compared, equal several much more dignified occupations and revered studies. It is a peculiar game, familiar no doubt, or should be, to all; for though at every instant during the hour and a half required to play it out there is the same repetition of a scrimmage, yet the instant the ball is again in motion, and the twenty-two men are started after it, the field is in a situation it has never been in before. Signals there are, schemes piled upon schemes, tricks, feints, and rules that are with difficulty followed or totally disregarded; but the history of each play is unique; it

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has never been known before. Active thinking, self-reliance, power to carry out what is attempted, and ability to decide at once and in the right way—these are not qualities to be disregarded, nor is any training that tends to perfect them.

All this causes a smile on the part of the reader as giving a little too much importance to a small thing. But though studies and their accessory employments constitute the bulk of college work, they often fail to educate certain necessary qualities and habits of mind that less important matters force into a student's character—qualities that do not come from much reading of books. It eventually appears, therefore, that the smile is one of ignorance, or of knowledge based on newspapers for text-books. Anything that gives men training in good directions is not a proper subject for ridicule. The mere fact that athletics are now a part of the college work, that faculties appoint committees to guide and properly restrain them, is evidence of a recognized importance.

The great trouble, however, at home and abroad, with the game of foot-ball is in its *brutality* (the word has been so abused that it deserves to be put in italics). Here is another point on which journalism has called up all that could be found in the dictionary and elsewhere to help it condemn and at the same time highly color the sport. The newspaper "story" must be a bright, readable account, free from dull detail, and it takes advantage of the extraordinary amount of scratches, which cannot be avoided in a personal contest, to give that spice to its narrative that is demanded by the delicate palate of the American reading public. Yet even this has come to be a story of the past now.

Injuries, however slight, are less frequent than ever, and in the more important games of the last season there is scarcely an instance of rough, brutal, or unfair play. As for accidents, there is an important distinction to be made in estimating them—the distinction between very slight and serious injuries. In an admirable report prepared by a committee appointed for that purpose in 1888 at Harvard University, it appeared from replies sent in by 1,016 students that 912 had received no injuries at all, that 88 had been hurt once, 13 twice, and 3 three times. Of these 104 accidents, 42 resulted from foot-ball, in which 165 students practised regularly every day during two months and about 200 more played games occasionally. Out of the 42 accidents 35 were slight and amounted to nothing. Consequently, seven men supplied the material which filled the newspapers with the brutal details of injuries for nearly two months; nothing being said of the injuries received in other sports.

That is, the accidents in foot-ball are almost entirely such as result from any sport where human beings come in contact with each other, and the serious injuries there are not more common than in daily life. Nor are those that do occur more lasting than or so much to be regretted as some of the moral and mental injuries that the game helps to prevent. On the other hand, the moral brutality supposed to be called up by this contest is still more of a myth.

Men do lose their tempers,—not so much as they did, however,—but such carelessness is in direct violation of rule and is disobedience, and it is punished with discharge. There can be no better school for the cultivation of self-control than one in which the test is so severe as it is here. Fifteen years ago, before systematic training was introduced, foot-ball, like other sports, consisted largely in personal strength and the ability of one man to

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knock down half a dozen others. There were then numerous instances of fighting on the field, and these created the material for criticism which has done much to injure the sport and is only now beginning to disappear. At present the increasing skill in playing the game makes it necessary that each of the eleven men work with his comrades to accomplish a single move, and the day of the individual player has gone by. The game, doubtless, is still rough; the players are handled without delicacy; but if a boy cannot learn to control himself here and stand up for his own, it will go hard with him when he tries to stand up against the world outside. He has his friends about him here and knows he is sure of support. In the other fight he may be sadly in want of them.

Friends are, indeed, valuable property, and perhaps the chief benefit a young freshman, new to his college and to his fellow collegians, finds in his first year at college is in the friends he chooses. The sports bring him before his fellows, and thus widen the circle of his acquaintances and his opportunity for choosing valuable friends. Some of our fathers, themselves of the great universities, send their hopeful heirs to small colleges because of their fear of these acquaintances, because of their fear of many things they saw in their own day, and finally because of athletics. Small colleges do their good work; but they are like small cities—they do not give you all that is to be had. They turn out great men, but it is not they who make them great. A larger university is only a smaller world; it has all the good and most of the bad qualities of its greater model, and is a good school for that reason alone. It is not the fault of the college that the boy goes wrong, and its size has but little influence one way or the other. How many sins are shifted to the shoulders of some of our great-hearted alma maters!

The boy learns strange things there, as he will elsewhere, but the somewhat stern training that comes to him only through athletics, the systematic life for a few months in the year, the honest friendships made by standing shoulder to shoulder against a common rival, all give him a habit of picking well from his newly-acquired knowledge and of relying on himself; and we can only regret that the training is not more moderate and of longer duration.

It is not a perfect school—far from it; but it puts a little chivalry into a man and gives him an inkling of systematic habits. Let him go his own way, then; play foot-ball hard if he can—it is better than hard dissipation or anything else of the sort; give him the maternal benediction that has no equal, the assurance that woman is holy always, that every man has his good side, that a reasonable amount of modesty is commendable, and that—well, that there are other good points as well, too numerous to mention.

JOSEPH HAMBLEN SEARS.

DO AMERICANS LOVE MONEY?

A FIXED idea in the European mind is that Americans are incurably enamored of money; that they pass their lives in pursuit of it, and that they care for very little else. When this idea has reached the populace, it is perverted into the belief that every American is rich, and that riches may be had here almost for the asking. The perversion is not much further from the truth than the original idea; but it is easy for us to see how both the one and the other may be credited abroad.

All things are relative. There is so much more money in the new world;

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it is so much more distributed and so much more easily made than in the old world that it seems there to be as plenty here as vegetation. And being so comparatively plenty, Europeans, who value it far beyond what we do, naturally think our desire for it excessive and insatiable. They ascribe to us, in short, the feelings they would have under our circumstances.

We are continually lectured by our British kinsmen, often as meddlesome as they are pharisaical, on our frenzied haste after wealth, and the evil result thereof; while their Continental neighbors echo them in still more dolorous strains. That we strive harder for and bestow far more thought on money than the mass of Europeans is at once conceded. People do not occupy time in trying to get what they know is not to be had. The Laplanders waste no days in laboring to cultivate fruit, nor the Singhalese in seeking snow. For the same reason the great majority of Europeans make no efforts to gain riches, of which they have, indeed, but an abstract notion. Absorbed in earning the scantiest livelihood, they are content with that. They are without ambition or enterprise,—these terms are not in their vocabulary,—being fully satisfied to follow the humble paths trodden by their ancestors for generations. Any sort of surplus is not only beyond their reach, but beyond their hope. It appears to them, if it appears at all, like the visions of the saints or the dawn of the millennium.

Our Country is a new country in more than one sense; it generates new ideas, new hopes, new aspirations; it evolves new destinies for the race. Its citizens feel that all the rewards of life are within their reach; that they can, if they will, lift themselves from poverty to fortune. But only a few prize financial success, or understand how it may be attained. But that it is attainable, that it is possible, is an honor to the Republic and a proof of our democracy. The name of Commonwealth has, with us, a fresh significance, is an additional incentive to exertion.

The old world learns of the millions heaped up here in an incredibly short time by gigantic undertakings, bold speculation, brilliant financiering. Our own newspapers delight to record and exaggerate the monetary achievements of the day. It really seems as if the nation were engaged in a colossal crusade after wealth, as if the whole population were embarked in the pursuit of it, reckless of the means employed. But it is solely seeming. Even here, in the land of plenty and promise, most of us remain poor, and go to our graves without an effort to secure other than a modest competence, which is a duty—and yet generally neglected—we owe to ourselves and those dependent on us. As a people we distinctly do not love money. The exact reverse of the widespread opinion of the national love of money is really true.

Daily examples, within the circles of our individual observation, denote this. Money is superabundant. Any one may get it, in moderation, if he cares to. It is not properly appreciated; it is too plentiful to be valued. It comes easily, and goes easily. It slips through our fingers—how, when, or where, we are not concerned to know. We constantly disregard financial opportunities; we live monetarily to-day, taking no heed of the morrow.

Do we love money? What we love we want to keep, to increase, to monopolize; not to spend, to waste, to share, as the average American does with such sums as fall to his lot. If we loved money, we should guard it zealously; add to it with watchfulness, toil, and pains; strike furiously at him who would aim to deprive us of the least portion. Is this our dispo-

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sition or our habit? Are we inclined to hoard? Hoarding is an old-world custom, which we do not sympathize with or understand. Foreigners, when they come to our shores, are apt to relinquish the custom; for liberality is in the air. They cease to be anxious to augment what is to be had on every hand, what is accounted of minor importance. A native miser of the true breed is seldom heard of, is almost a contradiction in terms. Misers here, when discoverable, are found to be of alien blood, and governed by trans-Atlantic influences.

Americans, some of them, unquestionably love to make money. They enjoy the excitement of pursuit, the frequent difficulty of its procurement in vast amounts, the pleasure of management, manipulation, and successful outcome. They relish the game rather than its stakes, the power they exercise rather than the possession. But they are scarcely representative. They are, as a rule, the born money-makers, exceptional everywhere. They have a genius for their vocation, which is irrepressible, and is strengthened by indulgence. It is perfectly natural that they should obey their instincts; follow the bent of their minds, the drift of their being. Even without offered prizes, they would catch the scent, and run with the hounds. It is in their blood, and in harmony with their temperament.

But this disposition hardly springs from a love of money—very different from a love of making it. After money has been acquired, to whatever extent, it does not satisfy these fortune-chasers, who continue the chase for the sake of the chase. It is of these that we are always hearing. Their performances are rehearsed and repeated in hyperbolic phrase, orally and in print, until they appear to be a direct outgrowth of the Country and examples of its mercenariness.

Europe takes them up, declares them to be veritable types of our people, and significant of the coming decline of the Republic. Such homilies as they occasion at home and abroad would be tiresome if they were not so overpitched as to be diverting. They always speak of this inappeasable appetite for gain as if it were a moral disease indigenous to the United States and produced by popular institutions. They seldom concede that it is largely due to the energy, the restlessness, the keen perception, the mental alertness, the passion for success, the delight in achievement, which are among the features of Western civilization. They neglect to say that these money-makers are equally money-spenders, that squandering is as pleasurable as winning. Such an admission would show what has been asserted, that the desire for acquisition entirely outweighs greed.

Americans who embark in big enterprises, who take great financial risks, and are lucky in them, generally sustain heavy losses again and again, and, oftener than not, are reduced to poverty. The fearless and prosperous operators of a few years ago have already passed out of sight, and others have come in their stead, and will always be coming. There is a regular succession in every prominent city of triumphs and defeats in every commercial field.

Wall Street and the Produce Exchange bear witness to this. The monetary leaders seldom last. They coruscate for a while, and then their final spark goes out. In a hundred markets, all over the land, one may meet men who have been millionaires, and are now bankrupts. They may be millionaires once more. Rarely, unless very old, do they surrender hope or ambition. They silently watch the wheel, expecting that it may yet come round again. If it does not, they are silent also. If you grow intimate with

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them, they may repeat a chapter here and there of their unwritten biography as an illustration of the way the world goes, and smile as they recount it. They have had experience, ever valuable, they will say, and have learned certain lessons in life, which is sufficient compensation, in the absence of any other.

Commend us to the pure American for calmness and philosophy, under crucial circumstances! He is at base a stoic. Stoicism is his rational and national religion.

Foreign critics are lost in wonderment at the resignation of our people to sudden change of fortune, so common here as barely to attract notice. They admit that we slip from wealth to ruin without depression or complaint. Where Europeans would go mad, or commit suicide, we gather up the fragments and resolve to try again. We turn from the darkness of the night to the radiance of the unborn day, and feel stronger for what we have endured.

This is the best evidence that we have no love of money as money; that we are fond of making it for the employment it furnishes to the active brain and the industrious body; that, having lost it, we are ready and eager to stand up, and have another tussle with fortune, and, if need be, still another and another. We have any number of examples of men who have spent half a dozen times their inherited or acquired riches, and, at their last spending, have not repined.

There is scarcely a record of an American of unadulterated stock who has been a murderer from pecuniary motive. If we want money, we get it in dramatic fashion; in quaint, pictorial style. Making millions is our way of dealing practically with the romance that lurks in our fervid souls. We are generous to a fault, extravagant, prodigal,—what you will; but in regard to love of money we are so inconstant as to argue ourselves unworthy and incapable of such love.

JUNIUS HENRI BROWNE.

THE POOR MAN AT HARVARD.

THE representative spirit at Harvard is a high and manly one, notwithstanding the numerous statements and the current belief to the contrary. The fast set is limited in number, and the set of snobs, though numerous, is smaller than is generally believed. Harvard is a little world in itself, where young men of all kinds of character and ability have come together ostensibly for the training which the college offers them. Some work only for the degree which is offered for four years of successful work, and a few do not seem to care even for that. While it is the common belief that Harvard is a college for the rich, I have no hesitancy in stating that the majority of students have at their command a very limited allowance, either because of the wisdom of their parents or because of actual poverty.

The really poor man naturally does much studying, for he has an object in view, and, since his money is hard earned, he tries in every way to get the utmost possible return from its expenditure. Usually such men have ability, and this, added to their earnestness, guarantees them a leading place among the scholars of the college. Yet among the class of men in moderate circumstances there are men of equal ability and earnestness, and since they have not the worry which the poorer men have, it is often to them that the

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plums of scholarship fall. In many ways it is an advantage to be a poor man here, because it gives earnestness where otherwise it might not be found; but no man can do his best work in college when he is forced to give much of his time to outside work for self-support.

There are some curious sentiments at Harvard, particularly among freshmen and sophomores, and even among those seniors and juniors who retain sophomore and freshman characteristics. One of these is the desire to be considered "a man of the world"—a spirit which has brought much unmerited discredit to the Harvard student as a type. Another is the contempt with which he looks upon the "grind," or the man who studies hard and conscientiously.

The typical "grind" is a most undesirable fellow. He pores over his books from morning till night, and far into the night; he takes no notice of matters of common interest or of college affairs; he talks only about books and studies; he is a crank; and he is appropriately represented in the college comic paper as a man with long hair and a vacant, far-away, poetical expression, and his constant companion is a book. Some look at him with contempt, and the majority with pity, for it is doubtful if any one ever knew a real out-and-out "grind" to be a marked success in life.

It is certainly not a wonder that a man does not wish to be considered one of these; but here, as elsewhere, the student goes to excess. The snobs began the custom of ridiculing the "grind," and then of extending their ridicule to all hard students; and now, among this class, every man who works hard is considered a "grind." The sentiment has unfortunately spread through the college, and finds expressien very often from men who in all other affairs cannot be called snobs. It is an unhealthy sentiment, and one which should have no place here, for it is a sign of snobbishness which may bring to Harvard a very unsavory reputation.

The grinds are almost always poor men. They have to work hard, they have to wear poor clothes, and, being poor, they are obliged to keep aloof from their fellow students. They are, however, typical only of a very small class, and all poor men and hard workers should not be judged by them. The majority of the poor men at Harvard are able men, of manly and noble disposition, of genial nature, and with practical minds. They differ from many of the leaders in college life only in that they have already been forced to find a purpose in life because they have been thrown on their own resources. They are prematurely advanced, or, as is often the case, are really older in years, as well as in thought, than the majority of college men.

As to how many men there are in Harvard who are dependent on their own resources for self-support there are no statistics at hand upon which to base a statement. Probably there are very few, perhaps not more than a score, who are absolutely dependent on themselves; but there are many more who are in large measure forced to support themselves. A cheap dining-hall recently started by one of the most philanthropic members of the faculty now boards about one hundred and fifty men, nearly all of whom are forced to live with great economy; and these are only a part of the poor men at college, for some live in Cambridge, others go home to the neighboring towns, and many board at other places. Probably there are two hundred men in college, or nearly one-fifth of the total number, who in one way or another help support themselves.

These men come from all parts of the country and from all walks of life. The sons of professional men, of tradesmen, mechanics, and farmers, are all

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here among the poor men. Either inspired by their parents or finding the inspiration in themselves alone, they have chosen to seek an education, and, seeing the importance of their step and the value of improving every opportunity, they are an earnest body of students of whom the world will hear more in the future. Generally they are older than the average student, and sometimes they are full-grown men.

It is a boast of the college that no worthy needy student who would profit in life by a college degree need leave Harvard for want of money, and the experience of the poor men amply justifies this statement. There are few places where money can be spent more easily than here, and there is perhaps no other educational institution where money can be more easily obtained.

Directly from the college aid may be obtained in various ways. One hundred and twenty-five scholarships, yielding in the aggregate some $28,000, are annually given away to needy students. For those who are not successful in obtaining these there is now a fund of $15,000 annually available, which is distributed, in sums ranging from $100 to $250, to deserving students.

Besides these, there are loan funds and prizes. One of the chief sources of income, however, is outside work. The majority of the faculty take a deep interest in deserving, self-supporting students, and through them not only is profitable employment secured for the summer months, but much college and other work is turned over to them during term time. One of the most profitable sources of income is tutoring. Unfortunately for them, though fortunately for the poor man, there are many men at Harvard who have more money than they know what to do with, and in spending it they find less time for study than is expected of them. When the examinations by which they are to be tested come, they find need for outside aid, and they then go to some needy student who ranks high, paying him from two to three dollars an hour for his services as tutor. Some men have earned from this source alone more money than they needed to meet their year's expenses, and many men each year add materially to their income from this source. Not a few students write for the press.

The poor man at Harvard is socially a failure, but mentally a success. Sometimes he enters athletics, but the majority, either from choice or necessity, keep aloof from this source of pleasure but destroyer of time. He is not openly snubbed by his more fortunate fellow students, but finds himself more or less an outcast, though few probably desire or try for the companionship of those with whom they cannot keep pace if they would. In nearly every member of the faculty he finds a warm sympathizer and supporter; and the encouragement which he receives from this source gives to him an increased desire for work and for success.

To the class of poor men I have belonged for four years full of toil, yet full of pleasure. I have not found it necessary to give all my time to study and work, but have profited somewhat from what is perhaps the most valuable part of a college training—the general college life, the meeting of people of all types, and the choosing of friends from among them. Yet this has been of necessity a secondary feature of my college life, and though my hair is not longer than it should be, nor my sole topic of conversation Homeric or Darwinian, I have still been a hard student, and with the snobs have the reputation of being

A "GRIND."

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MY GOLD CURE.

THE fall and death of Colonel John F. Mines, while producing a great shock on account of his prominence in literary circles and as an advocate of the Keeley cure, as well as the gallant fight he seemed to make against his disease, cannot affect the public appreciation of my discovery, except among those whose only information on the subject was derived from his article in the October number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. Of the 700 patients now at Dwight under treatment, not 5 per cent. are there through any other agency than their own personal knowledge of cures, ranging from one to ten years. The fact that friends and neighbors have received the Keeley treatment and secured, as far as human knowledge can estimate, permanent and lasting cures is the convincing argument. The Keeley cure has advanced slowly, without advertisement except that of cured men, from one patient, twelve years ago, till now the average attendance is as above. About the beginning of the present year the Chicago *Tribune*, after thorough investigation, opened its columns to ex-patients for the relation of their personal experiences, and thus succeeded in attracting the attention of the literary world and placing information as to the cure and the institution in the minds of the reading public. This information, taken advantage of, has now placed cured men in almost every city, town, and hamlet in the United States, as well as many foreign countries. The indubitable evidences of these cures remain and will always be monuments of my discovery, making the Keeley institutes the Meccas of the liquor and opium habitués.

Colonel Mines came to Dwight a physical and mental wreck. Being a man of brilliant intellect and great variability, his nervous system, even in its normal state, was subject to the greatest mutations, going from the state of highest enthusiasm to one of deepest dejection in an incredibly short time. In many cases the action of narcotics so masks the symptoms of other affections that it is not till the patient is freed from them and their impression that an intelligent diagnosis can be made. In Colonel Mines's case, after progressing partially through the treatment, the suspicion of paresis was aroused and much solicitude caused to me for fear that an unusually magnificent mind was to be permanently lost to the world. That solicitude caused me to keep up a regular correspondence with the patient, and as late as September 20 Colonel Mines wrote to me in Paris in such extravagant terms of his cure, betraying such an emotional state, that I was more fearful than ever of progressing nervous disease. When landing from the steamer in New York I looked in vain for Colonel Mines's face among the crowd on the dock, and it was not till the next day, when a mutual friend called, that I obtained any knowledge of him. This friend said he had met Colonel Mines a few days before and was afraid he had gone wrong. He had acted like one under the influence of drugs, suggestive of either hydrate of chloral or sulfonal, or a mixture of both. I sent out a gentleman familiar with Colonel Mines's habits and haunts, seeking him high and low, as long as I remained in New York, and it was not until I reached Chicago that I learned of the pitiable end of my brilliant patient.

The friend who met him described his condition as one of deep dejection and melancholy. Evidently his mercurial temperament had been subjected to one of those terrible reactions or reverses that he was so prone to, and he had resorted to some drug to overcome the depression, and, being easily and dangerously impressed by it, was really insane at the time. It will probably

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never be known what the causes were that brought about his fall, but the conclusion to be made is that, with his temperament and environment, a lasting cure was not to be effected. He was, in fact, one of the 5 per cent. of patients that could not be permanently cured. On second thought, those familiar with Col. Mines's writings, or who had enjoyed his personal acquaintance, can but acknowledge that this sad occurrence will not impede or retard the grand work of which he wrote so brilliantly. The members of the various bi-chloride of gold clubs, formed by ex-patients in many localities, for the purpose of continuing the acquaintanceship formed at Dwight and branch institutes, crystallizing their labors in behalf of other unfortunates, and collecting interesting information regarding the ex-patients, claim that the percentage of cures is actually above the 95 per cent. that I credit to my remedy. The club at Dwight, with a membership of seventeen hundred in regular communication with its secretary, places the failures at less than 3 per cent. The Chicago club, with a membership of over four hundred, has had but six failures, being only 1½ per cent. The latter club's membership is wholly within the city and is therefore reliable in its statistics. How can one failure impede the work, lessen the value of the discovery, or discourage the friends of the unfortunates?

The world is to-day absolutely without any other remedy approaching this in success; the accumulated mass of testimony admits of no reasonable doubt as to its claims, and the daily demonstration of its efficiency at Dwight on the seven hundred patients and the patients at the twenty-six branches should deservedly have the confidence and support of the afflicted ones and their friends. The following letter, written after a year's experience of the cure, is self-explanatory:

"CHICAGO, Ill., Oct. 16, 1891.

"GEORGE B. SMITH, ESQ., secretary Bi-chloride of Gold Club, Dwight, Ill.

"DEAR SIR: Since talking with you a few weeks since I am impressed with the propriety of submitting to the club on the anniversary of my graduation from the Keeley Institute at Dwight, which occurs October 22, 1891, a letter in grateful acknowledgement of the benefits and advantages I have personally derived from the treatment and cure. Feeling assured that my past twelve months' experience must be worth something to the membership now with you, I beg to submit the following, which are the practical results of the year just closed: Twelve months ago my condition had reached a stage of the severest extremity. I was in the great city of Chicago, without money and without friends. The generous assistance of my family was speedily consumed in drink, and the clothing supplied was pawned as soon as received. I was without shelter and without an article of wearing apparel which would bring the price of a drink; I was without aim, energy, or purpose. I was ignorant of the simplest business forms. I had never held a position of any description for six months; I was more dependent than a child. I lived by the generosity of family and friends, whose confidence I always betrayed. I was without moral stamina; my health was wrecked; I would submit to insult and abuse for a drink of whiskey. Twice, for a term of six months each, had I been sent to the best inebriate asylums of the land. I had travelled the world pretty much over in the hope of my people that change would effect a cure, but nothing made head against the monstrous disease which had me in its death-grip. This was my condition twelve months ago, when I commenced Dr. Keeley's treatment. Now for the result. This is what warms my heart and gives me courage to

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betray the humiliating experience of the past. It is the animating hope that good may come of it.

"The day after my treatment was finished I was taken into a large jobbing house in Chicago. I was taken by men who knew my past and were willing to take the risk of giving me a trial. They afforded me an opportunity of learning their intricate business. I commenced as a workman in the stock. In four months I was advanced to the position of travelling salesman, since which time other promotions have followed. Now, what is this worth? Since Dr. Keeley pronounced me cured I have been an independent citizen, able to work and glad of the opportunity. I believe I have earned the confidence and esteem of my employers, and their frequent letters of commendation seem to attest as much. I have made money enough to meet all present wants and enough to apply a considerable sum to the payment of old debts, and have not contracted an additional obligation. The transformation of my own life is still to me a marvel. I can scarcely comprehend the change. Twelve months passed, and not only have I not touched a drop of any intoxicating thing whatsoever, but I have not had the first desire to drink. There has been no fight, no struggle. I am frequently asked how I withstood the temptations of the 'road.' There are no temptations; there is no desire. Appetite is gone; but I take no risks. I have no desire to test my strength. It has proved sufficient. What more do I want? Think of absolute freedom for twelve months from the awful craving of a diseased appetite. Think of the ability to do for one's self and for others. Think of health restored, with appetite only for food and ability to sleep. Think of the family who have suffered deeper sorrow than sorrow for the dead. Think of character restored till living is a delight and not a curse. Think of happiness, prosperity, and peace. Oh, it is a resurrection indeed. This is a practical experience. Yet there are those who condemn Dr. Keeley and his treatment without investigation. In my humble judgment, from the standpoint of my own experience, I say the man who deters others who suffer from the disease of alcoholism from applying the means of rescue which Dr. Keeley offers has taken a grave responsibility upon his soul. Let him look to it. Dr. Keeley cured me nothwithstanding my skepticism and lack of faith. To him all credit is due. May I not hope you will some time write your own wonderful experience as you told it to me? Fraternally, ALBERT E. HYDE."

LESLIE E. KEELEY.

JEWISH SOLDIERS IN THE UNION ARMY.

AS A Union soldier I feel compelled to take exception to a part of Isaac Besht Bendavid's reply to Goldwin Smith. I refer to that portion of his article in the September number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW relative to the service of Jews in the Union armies. He cites, in particular, the military merit of Generals Lyon and Rosecrans. Of General Lyon I will only say that it must prove a genuine surprise to his many friends in Connecticut (his native State) to see him set down as a Jew. In all human probability this is the first time such a claim has been presented to their notice. In regard to General Rosecrans, he was sent to West Point at an age too young to have developed any very pronounced ideas of race, and, being educated by the government, could have had no other feeling of nationality than that symbolized in the flag that waved above his youthful studies. That he fought

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for that flag when it was imperilled was simply doing what he was required to do—what he made oath to do in order to obtain admittance to the Military Academy. He was from a loyal State, and had no excuse of "State rights" to justify desertion. In religion General Rosecrans was a Catholic, and he celebrated high mass in Chattanooga over its salvation—saved by the consummate ability, the magnificent fighting, the heroic endurance, of that glorious hero, George H. Thomas! In view of all these facts, it is somewhat difficult to comprehend how General Rosecrans can be considered as a real Jew.

As to the Jews "standing shoulder to shoulder with their fellow citizens":

I had served in the field about eighteen months before being permanently disabled in action, and was quite familiar with several regiments; was then transferred to two different recruiting stations; but I cannot recall meeting one Jew in uniform or hearing of any Jewish soldier. After the war, for twenty-five years I was constantly engaged in travelling, always among old soldiers, but never found any who remembered serving with Jews. Indeed, this was so marked as often to become a subject of comment. I learned of no place where they stood "shoulder to shoulder," except in General Sherman's department, and he promptly ordered them out of it for speculating in cotton and conveying information to the Confederates. If so many Jews fought so bravely for their adopted country, surely their champion ought to be able to give the names of the regiments they condescended to accept service in. For we know from the Hebrew scriptures that the children of Abraham were terrible warriors, and must regret not being able to enlist a few modern Samsons.

J. M. ROGERS.

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